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SPECIAL REPORT

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front-rear weight distribution of 60/40 has been achieved.

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We've always seen heavy V8 powerplants as a sign of excess rather than success. A view confirmed by our record in Formula 1 Racing. Honda's V10 engines have defeated the V12's to win the World Constructor's Championship for five consecutive years. You'll see this lesson applied in the new Legend. For example, Acura engineers redesigned the entire valvetrain

streamlining the components to produce more efficient performance.

This helped to further reduce weight and achieve an ideal power-to-weight ratio. And a zero to sixty figure of 7.9 seconds.

Proof, if anything that there finally is a substitute for cubic inches.

Unlike V8's that pump out raw power, the Legend delivers performance where you need it most.

A variable induction system borrowed from the NSX boosts power in the 2500-4000 rpm range.

So when you negotiate traffic you don't feel like you're navigating a land yacht. Surprisingly enough, with all the power we've added, the 1991 Legend is more fuel-efficient than its predecessor.

WHAT PRICE LUXURY?

Acura luxury is designed to enhance the car's performance rather than the price.

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The ergonomics of the Legend have been borrowed from the NSX sports car where they have been described as "extraordinarily refined".

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The reliability that's put us on top of the J.D. Power and Associates Customer Satisfaction Rating four years in a row*.

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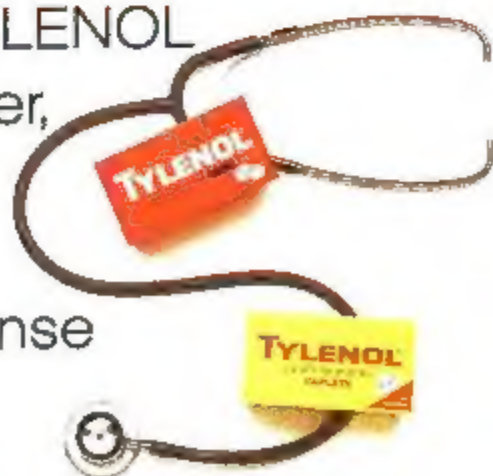
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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE JANUARY 28, 1991 VOL. 104 NO. 4

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COVER

FLAMES OF WAR

U.S.-led coalition forces launched massive air attacks against Iraq, leading to a conflict that is likely to change the face of the Middle East. As millions of viewers around the world watched the conflict on TV, Iraqi President Saddam Hussein retaliated by launching missiles at Israel. Meanwhile, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney authorized Canadian fighter jets to take on a new, offensive role. And coalition forces captured several Iraqi soldiers in Kuwait.

— 18

UNDER ATTACK

From Baghdad's Al Rashid Hotel, Maclean's Correspondent John Holland saw the first burst of tracer bullets light up the night sky—signalling the start of the Gulf war and the sustained bombing of Iraq. The next day, as an acrid smoke cast its pall over the Iraqi capital, Holland set out on a harrowing journey to Jordan.

— 28

CANADA'S CALL TO ARMS

A sombre Prime Minister committed the country's ships and planes in the Persian Gulf to an assault on Iraq and Iraqi-occupied Kuwait. Hospitals prepared to receive the wounded from the distant battlefield and security services stepped up activity to protect against terrorist attacks—and Iraqi-Canadians felt the heat of resentment.

— 34

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The Dangers Of Victory

President George Bush may prove to be a great war leader. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, too, may see his flagging fortunes improve if the battle ends swiftly and successfully and if he does his part to make Canadians aware of the heroism of their forces in the Gulf. But the real test of leadership for Bush, and to a lesser extent for Mulroney, lies ahead. If, as appeared likely on the weekend, the U.S.-led coalition crushes the forces of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein and drives them out of occupied Kuwait, the coming months in the Gulf region and the Middle East will be filled with danger. If Iraq is, in fact, shattered by the war, its military crushed and its economy in ruins, it will be an almost irresistible takeover target for one or two of its Arab neighbors who fought against it at great cost. In that event, only America, supported by some members of the coalition, will have the power to repel an invasion. Washington will also have the moral obligation to maintain Iraq's integrity, after taking up the role of Kuwait's protector. It will also have to ensure that no Arab state mistakes Israel's restraint after being hit by Iraqi Scud missiles as weakness.

At the same time, if the long-repressed Saudis, after being exposed to the freewheeling Americans, British, Canadians and others, overthrow the ruling House of Saud, as many analysts predict, it would leave a huge and dangerous vacuum in the region. And again, it would now be impossible for America and its allies to avoid becoming involved in a transition to a more democratic and freer administration in Riyadh.

Bush is also obligated to the Arab states that joined the coalition to work for a settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian issue, even at the risk of alienating Jerusalem and Jewish supporters in the United States. However necessary the fighting was, the postwar Middle East will be rife with vengeance-hungry governments and new, deeper divisions. The Americans, and perhaps the Canadians, may not be able to come home again.

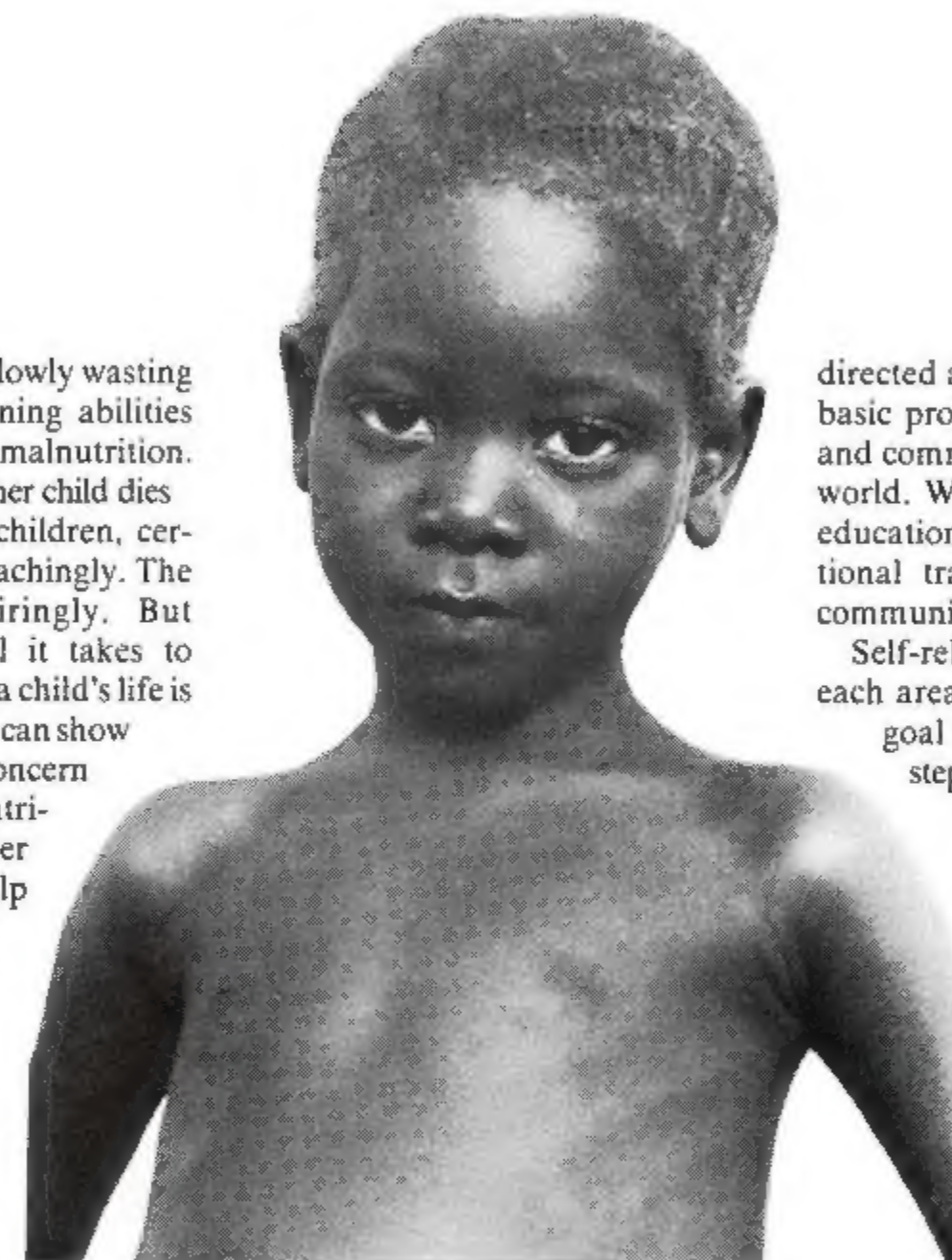
Kevin Doyle



European Bureau Chief Andrew Phillips in Qatar with Lieut. James Robertson: real test

CHRISTIAN COLOMBE P.D.N.D.

Who cares?



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LETTERS

WAR IN OUR TIME

Where in the world is a statesman of any political stripe or nationality who will stand up and tell the world to stop this lunacy ("After Midnight," Cover, Jan. 21)? Saddam Hussein was obviously much at fault in Kuwait, but what right has the United States to act as self-appointed policeman? Have we already forgotten Vietnam, Grenada, Panama and all the other interferences in Central and South America? Oil (cheap oil), Israel and the occupied territories are the issues, and should be treated as such. Mulroney would raise his political fortunes tenfold if he would make it known that Canadians will in future be peace-makers and not war-makers. I am a veteran of the Second World War myself, but my heart goes out to the thousands of innocent civilians in the conflict. Will we ever learn?

Colin Wood,
Courtenay, B.C.

I wonder if we have become so complacent and secure in Canada that we tend to ignore the realities of war. My husband is a Canadian Forces C-130 Hercules pilot on an exchange posting with the U.S. air force. We transferred from Trenton, Ont., to Fayetteville, N.C., for what we assumed would be a typical exchange posting. It certainly has not turned out that way. Authorization came from both the Canadian and the U.S. governments, and my husband was deployed to join his American squadron in the Persian Gulf on Nov. 22. Even if people do not support the Canadian government during this conflict, please support the Canadian serviceman.

Helen Whitman,
Fayetteville, N.C.

'PROUD TO BE CANADIAN'

Congratulations on your *Maclean's* Honor Roll (Dec. 31). With our government seemingly bent on destroying our transportation and communication systems, it is a tribute to a national magazine that it honors talented Canadians. We can, despite Ottawa's worst efforts, still be proud to be Canadian. Also, although only 22 of the 62 whose accomplishments have been honored from 1986 through 1990 are female, I am encouraged to see that five of the 12 this year are women.

James Thomson,
Toronto

QUESTIONING THE POLL

I cannot help but detect a certain bias in the image of the "average Canadian" as created by the *Maclean's*/Decima poll (Cover, Jan. 7). Particularly telling was the question about sexual fantasies. The daily reality of a great



Iraqi soldier: 'stop this lunacy'

number of Canadians living in inter-racial relationships is negated when "having sex with someone of a different race" is posed as a titillating "fantasy." Similarly, the lives of the roughly quarter-million gays and lesbians in Canada are reduced to the extremely unpopular description of a "homosexual/lesbian af-

fair," I find it puzzling that only five per cent of those surveyed acknowledged same-sex fantasies when conservative estimates have been telling us for years that 10 per cent of the population is gay or lesbian. On the other hand, I wonder how many "average readers" would have admitted to fantasizing about heterosexual monogamy.

Kathleen Oliver,
London, Ont.

In response to historian George Woodcock's description of our present Parliament as being "virtually a four- or five-year dictatorship" ("A shaken nation bares its anger"), I assert instead that such leeway is essential for a government to govern effectively. Politicians are already sufficiently obsessed with appeasing the electorate; to modify the system to allow people to "recall their political leaders or call them to order in a shorter time" would result only in the greater prevalence of short-term solutions from those in power. Could one realistically expect that problems like the deficit would ever be addressed in such a system?

David Hass,
Victoria

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should supply name, address and telephone number. Mail correspondence to: Letters to the Editor, *Maclean's* magazine, Maclean Hunter Bldg., 777 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5W 1A7.

PASSAGES

CHARGED: With assault, Ben Johnson, 29, three days after his return to international competition at the Hamilton indoor games. Runner Cheryl Thibedeau Johnson's former teammate and also an acknowledged former steroid user, complained to police that a man squeezed her throat on Dec. 17. In August, 1989, Johnson was convicted of assault after pointing a starter's pistol at a motorist and was sentenced to 12 months probation. At the Hamilton games, Johnson finished second to American Daron Council in the 50-m sprint. Last week, in Los Angeles, at his second race since his return, Johnson set a Canadian record of 5.74 seconds in the 50 m but finished second to American Andre Cason's 5.69.



RECOVERED: From cancer surgery in November, Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa, 57. In September, doctors in Bethesda, Md. removed cancerous skin from Bourassa's back. The premier, who suffered complications after returning to Bethesda for follow-up surgery in November, appeared publicly last week for the first time since that operation. Said the premier: "I feel fine and I'm glad to be back."

DIED: The world's oldest reigning monarch, King Olav V of Norway, 87, of a heart attack in Oslo. King since 1957, Olav was a popular monarch because of his Resistance activities during the Second World War and his informal, egalitarian attitudes. His subjects dubbed him "The People's King." Olav's son, Crown Prince Harald, 54, is the heir to the Norwegian throne.

DIED: Photojournalist Gilbert Milne, 76, of cancer in Toronto. Milne was an official combat photographer and a Royal Canadian Navy lieutenant during the Second World War. He was the first photographer to record Allied troops landing at Normandy on D-Day. Born in Medicine Hat, Alta., Milne was also the official photographer for several Royal Family tours.

DIED: Actor Keye Luke, 86, after a stroke, at his home in Whittier, Calif., a Los Angeles suburb. Luke, a Chinese-American who played the Number One Son in a dozen Charlie Chan movies, appears as the herbalist in *Alice*, Woody Allen's current movie. He was also known for his television roles as the wise master priest in the *Kung Fu* series and the quick-witted houseboy in *The Green Hornet*.

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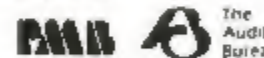
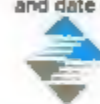
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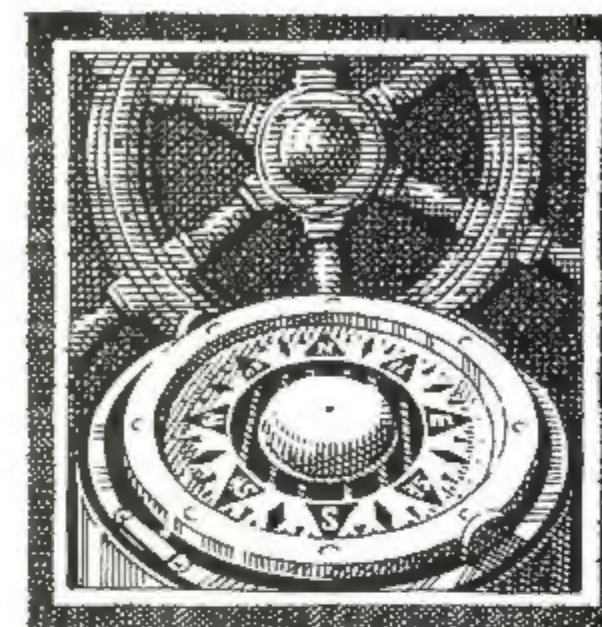
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OPENING NOTES

Canadian troops look homeward, Joe Ghiz woos regular tourists and Sunshine Girls take a backseat to war

A LITTLE SUNSHINE

During the run-up to the Gulf war and in its opening days, *The Toronto Sun* and its sister newspapers in Calgary, Edmonton and Ottawa relegated the popular, scantily clad Sunshine Girl from her usual prominent full-color, half-page position on page 3 to a mere one-quarter-page, black-and-white position in the back pages. On Jan. 17, Toronto's buxom feature appeared on page 18 and the next day moved to the obscurity of page 44. But the shift does not reflect any attitude change on the part of the tabloids. *Toronto Sun* editor John Downing says that he made the decision for pragmatic reasons—to make more space available in the front of the paper. Downing said that he has moved the Sunshine Girl on other occasions, most notably in 1989 following the Montreal massacre, when she appeared on page 97. In a column that he wrote at the time, Downing dismissed as "faddish twaddle" claims that it was moved out of sensitivity. Declared Downing: "We do it to get more space up front on major stories, or to get color."

Anne Marie: relegated to the obscurity of page 44

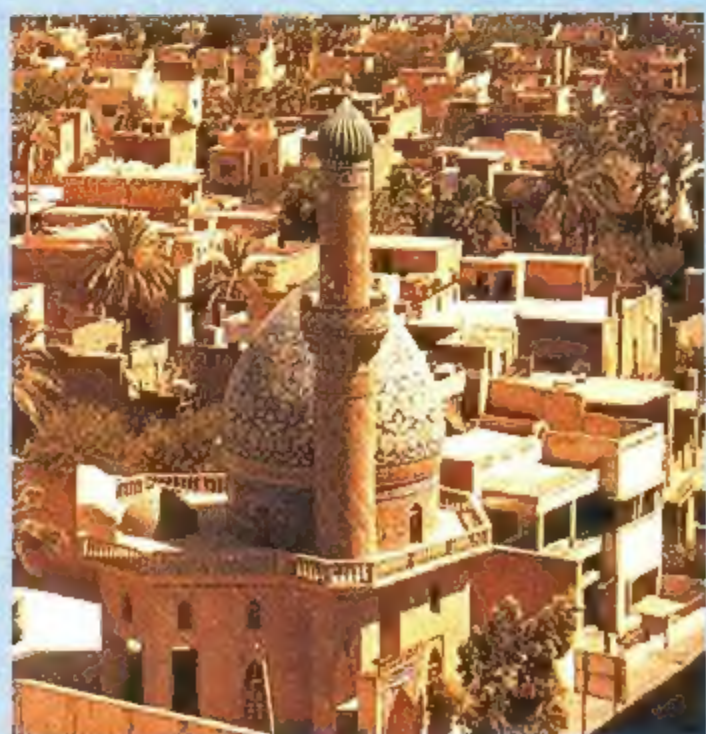


BEHAL/CANADA WIDE

Advice for accidental tourists

Canada's department of external affairs issued an updated travel advisory last week, just hours before the U.S.-led coalition launched its first massive air raid on Baghdad. In what must be the understatement of the war, Ottawa warned Canadians travelling or living in the Middle East and North Africa to "keep abreast of events and keep their plans under review." Among other countries, the advisory covered Iraq, Kuwait, Qatar, Bahrain, Jordan, Israel, the Israeli-occupied Palestinian territories and Saudi Arabia. Other useful advice for adventurous travelers: "Because of uncertainty in the Middle East and North Africa, coupled with the increasingly limited availability of airline seats, all Canadians in these countries who

plan to leave should do so without delay," and if there is a "compelling reason" to remain, "keep the situation under close review."



AP WIREPHOTO

Baghdad in better days: keeping abreast of events

CALLING THE KETTLE BLACK

John Tower, who lost his 1989 bid to become U.S. defence secretary because of allegations about excessive drinking and womanizing, has taken revenge. In his book, *Consequences*, to be published next month, the former senator claims to have stopped drinking years before George Bush nominated him, and he lashes out at former colleagues. Tower writes that former astronaut John Glenn is "not the brightest guy in Washington," and James Exon of Nebraska is "one of the most excessive regular boozers in the Senate."

A bran new tourism plan

Despite 16-per-cent unemployment and a flood of recent bankruptcies, P.E.I. Premier Joe Ghiz paints a rosy picture of the province's economic future. But local tourist operators find his vision hard to accept. In an effort to cheer them up, Ghiz recently told a Charlottetown Rotary Club audience about a planned tourism promotion. Said the premier: "P.E.I. is going to advertise on the back of Kellogg's Corn Flakes boxes." But an official from the department of tourism later said that the campaign will be on boxes of Bran Flakes. Now, the tourist operators say that at least they can hope for a more "regular" clientele.

A QUEEN-SIZE SCANDAL SHEET

The high jinks of the highborn British royals are guaranteed attention grabbers. And a new book, *Elizabeth and Philip*, written by biographers Charles Higham and Roy Moseley, is likely to cause more than a few raised eyebrows when Doubleday publishes it next month. In the book, Higham and Moseley, who have written biographies on such public figures as Katharine Hepburn and Marlon Brando, link Philip extramaritally with actress Merle Oberon, and they suggest that he fathered two illegitimate children before he married Elizabeth in 1947. The authors also write that Philip, a nephew of Lord Mountbatten, had wanted to have the name Mountbatten-Windsor replace Windsor as the royal name, but Elizabeth refused to accede. Philip, they write, was furious and yelled: "I'm just a bloody amoeba, that's all!" Still, the biographers write that Philip, now age 68, "was the only man she would ever love." But they also note Elizabeth's "close friendship" with Baron Patrick Plunket, deputy master of her household from 1954 to 1975. And more. Buckingham Palace declined comment. An embattled House of Windsor raises the drawbridge once again.

Philip: furious



Elizabeth: a one-man woman



PETER BEGG/MACLEAN'S

THE SHIFTING SANDS OF ARABIA

For many months, the Canadian military has been making painstaking preparations for the war in the Middle East. And although it appeared that no detail was overlooked, there have been a few minor glitches. Canadian soldiers, most of whom are used to life in a cold climate, miscalculated the extremes of the desert. Although their quarters at the Persian Gulf state of Qatar are air-conditioned against the 25°C daytime temperatures, they are not heated for the nights, when the thermometer drops to as low as freezing. Another surprise—the desert sand is useless in the sandbags needed for fortifications. It seems that the local sand is so fine that it just passes through the bags. As a result, the military is importing coarser sand. Like carrying coals to Newcastle.

Dressing for success

Tierney Read, a Grade 12 student at the Toronto French School who recently challenged the private institution's skirts-only dress code for senior girls, comes by her combative character naturally. Her mother is Senka Dukovich, a former Wardair flight attendant who made headlines in 1987 when she complained to the Canadian Human Rights Commission that the airline's dress code of white or skin-toned bras, skirts instead of pants and "legs and underarms free of apparent hair" was discriminatory. Dukovich's complaint is still pending, but her daughter's campaign has led school officials to promise that females will be allowed to wear slacks, beginning in the fall. Still, Read is insisting on swifter action. She added: "My mother fights for her rights, and I fight for mine. I do not like parading around in a kilt during a Canadian snowstorm."

Read and Dukovich: wearing the pants



BRIAN WILDER/MACLEAN'S

The long road home

It is a long way to Tipperary, but it is even further to the state of Qatar on the Persian Gulf. Canadian forces at Can-



CHASSON/CANAPRESS

Canada Dry 2: homesick

ada Dry 2, the camp that now houses military support staff, have erected a signpost pointing the way to their home towns. Examples include "Orangeville, Ont.—12,577 miles" and "Chester, N.S.—10,985 miles." But one homesick Canadian nailed up a particularly poignant notice that reads: "Rogersville, B.C.—one billion light-years away."



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ANOTHER VIEW



Second best is simply not good enough

BY CHARLES GORDON

Here's some funny stuff from David Letterman. A book has been made of those Top 10 lists everyone howls at on his *Late Night* show, and one of those lists is called "Subway Punks' Top 10 Etiquette Tips." They include:

When passing a sharpened screwdriver to a friend, remember—it's handle first.

Always say, "Could I have five dollars, please?"

Victims who don't press charges deserve a nice thank-you note.

Learning a few phrases in a foreign language can save you minutes of fruitless shoving and slapping.

Well, it's funny, until you think about it a bit. Here is a subway system many New Yorkers find unsafe, compounded by a climate of racism so acute that a Bernhard Goetz can be treated as a hero by some, after he opened fire on a group of blacks in the subway. In other words, here is a system that should inspire outrage. Instead, it inspires cynical snickers. The laughter says, "We can't do anything about this, so we might as well have fun with it."

As far as we know, no one is making Top 10 lists in Canada about our various tragedies. That's because we haven't lost all hope yet. But the signs are there.

Among the many declines that trouble Canadians, none is more worrisome than the decline in our expectations. To an increasing extent, we don't expect the best, and to an increasing extent we are beginning to accept the second best. It doesn't take much imagination to see where that attitude leads—it leads to the third best.

We don't have to look far to see what happens. In some of the United States' once-great cities, garbage lies on the sidewalks, homeless people sleep on the streets, illiteracy and violence thrive. It is distressing enough

Charles Gordon is a columnist with The Ottawa Citizen.

As we eliminate one frill after another, we might abandon the idea of excellence. As soon as that happens, excellence is lost.

that such a state of affairs exists; it is more distressing that Americans appear to accept it. Like David Letterman's writers, they make bitter jokes; like David Letterman's audiences, they laugh. Homelessness, violence—these are facts of life and you adapt to them as best you can. You buy a good luck and stay away from certain parts of town.

Up here, the problems are less acute. People are grumbling about the loss of local news programs in CBC cutbacks, or the fact that city governments are trying to get by with less snow removal. In the national capital region, residents are muttering about having to pay for access to cross-country ski trails that used to be free. Clearly, the symptoms range from the very serious to the slightly trivial. But the disease is the same. First-rate is becoming second-rate, and the people are beginning to accept it.

In some areas, what has declined falls into the quality-of-life category: mail delivery, snow removal, garbage pickup, passenger train service, the teacher-student ratio in our schools, comfort and convenience in our airports and on our major highways.

In other areas, more than the quality of life is involved; the question is life itself. There are

shortages of nurses and judges, prisons and hospitals are overcrowded, hostels turn away the homeless for lack of space and funding.

There are always people who care about these things, but they appear to be in the minority. The majority has either bought the idea that we can no longer afford the quality we once enjoyed, or despaired of finding solutions to problems. Either way, it is accepting a second-rate status which will soon become third-rate.

The argument about increasing class size in our schools and the end of free cross-country skiing around the capital is the argument about what constitutes a frill. Obviously, the line is drawn in different places by different people, but the rationale is really the same: we don't need it; we can't afford it. And there is some truth to the argument. There are some things we don't need. At the most basic level, we need food, clothing and shelter: everything else is a frill.

But at a more elevated level, some of the facilities and services defined as "frills" can be viewed as marks of excellence, the things that make our society better than other societies, the things that make us proud to live where we live. The big concern, as we eliminate one frill after another, is that we might abandon the idea of excellence. As soon as that happens, excellence is lost.

There is a more important question than what we can afford and that is whether we still have the ability to solve problems. Here the difficulty is not one of money but one of confidence. There are countries that have simply given up. The society degenerates, the people watch, and laugh if they can.

A lack of confidence is behind it. We used to think that problems could be solved. We used to think that governments could solve them, and we used to think it mattered which politicians we put in power. Now we have lost confidence in the politicians, and the politicians have lost confidence in themselves. Rather than accept the challenge of eradicating homelessness—to name one important social problem—our governments retreat behind the deficit and say that it can't be done. Rather than react in anger at corruption and stupidity among politicians, rather than march in the thousands to protest Oka, or Meech Lake, our people shrug and say: "What do you expect? They're all like that."

Our foreign policy can be seen as another example of lost confidence and lowered expectations. Where once—remember Lester B. Pearson?—we innovated with peacekeeping and sought new ways to prevent war, our governments now have a look to see what Washington is doing and offer to help however best we can. Public protest does not amount to much, because the public has long since ceased to expect any better.

The trouble with cutbacks is that they are never restored once people get used to them. The trouble with accepting lower standards is that we keep getting them, and that they keep getting lower. It won't be too many more years before people in this country forget what it was like to go first-class. There are many more than 10 top reasons why Canada deserves better.

MEDICAL CONCERNS

TEMPERS FLARE AND THOSE NEEDING CARE WORRY AS A BITTER MANITOBA NURSES' STRIKE IS DEADLOCKED

As temperatures plunged far below the freezing mark, cardiac nurse Patricia Rogaski, 27, paced the snowpacked sidewalk outside Winnipeg's 1,100-bed Health Sciences Centre. Attached to her parka was a sign that read: "The only good Tory is a suppository." Beside her on the picket line, operating-room technician Margaret Kokorsch, 29, held a placard featuring a caricature of Manitoba's Conservative premier, Gary Filmon, above the slogan "Public Enema No. 1." Caustic medical humor has been plentiful on the picket line since New Year's Day, when 9,500 Manitoba nurses went on strike at 86 provincial health-care facilities. And the evident anger among the strikers deepened late last week when the Manitoba Nurses Union rejected the government's latest

wage offer. By a 94-per-cent vote, the nurses, who are demanding a 24-per-cent wage increase over two years, turned down the government's proposal, which for some nurses would amount to 20 per cent over three years—including a pay equity increase. Calling the offer "peanuts," Rogaski declared: "My sister checks out groceries and she makes the same hourly rate as I do."

The Manitoba strike is the latest expression of frustration from nurses across Canada. Many of them claim that although they must frequently handle life-and-death situations, they receive only a fraction of the salaries earned by doctors. In the most recent job action, Quebec nurses went on a seven-day illegal strike in September, 1989—and won a settlement of up to 21.5 per cent over three years. An experienced nurse in Manitoba now earns \$18.13 an hour—the second-lowest wage in Canada, surpassing rates only in Prince Edward Island. That compares with an hourly rate of \$21.22 in British Columbia, where nurses are best paid. But Jonathan Lomas, a health policy analyst at McMaster University in Hamilton, noted that every Canadian province is also struggling to meet health costs that are consuming ever-larger proportions of government spending. Said Lomas: "One can't treat Manitoba as having an isolated problem."

For his part, Manitoba Finance Minister Clayton Manness says that the province simply cannot afford to grant large pay increases to its



Management staff member providing care; nurses on the picket line (opposite): frustration and anger

nurses. He called the province's offer to them generous in light of a three-per-cent cap that he placed on Dec. 14 on settlements with other provincial unions. Manness also noted that health-care costs are still rising at a time when the recession is cutting into provincial tax revenues, and Ottawa has said that it will reduce its transfer payments to the less well-off provinces over the next two years. But nurses union president Vera Chernecki derided Manness's claim. Declared Chernecki: "The government keeps saying it respects nurses. Paying nurses appropriate wages goes a long way towards respecting the work they do."

Meanwhile, the government's three-per-cent limit has placed it on a collision course with other unions as well. The most explosive potential conflict involves the 25,000-member Manitoba Government Employees Association. About 15,000 members have been without a contract since September. Association president Peter Olfert told *Maclean's* that the union will be pressing for a salary increase of between eight and 12 per cent over one year. Last week, however, Manness tabled an offer that would see no increases in the first year and only two per cent in the second. Said Olfert: "It is unfair, unrealistic and unacceptable to us."

Meanwhile, the province's 40 provincial court judges are demanding a wage increase of 58 per cent.

But it was the strike already in progress that attracted Manitobans' attention last week. Under essential-services agreements between individual hospitals and the union, about 1,600 nurses continued to work in emergency rooms and other critical care areas throughout the strike. But the dispute's effects on the health-care system were readily apparent. Hospitals limited surgery to lifesaving operations, called

rescheduled within days. "Maybe it helps when you open your mouth," said Schade, who underwent surgery on Jan. 7. But Eleanor Starr, 51, of Winnipeg was not as lucky. After undergoing a mastectomy in October, she had been scheduled for another operation in the first week of January after doctors discovered a malignancy in her second breast. That surgery was postponed—and at week's end, she was still waiting for the operation to be rescheduled. "It is real mental torture," said Starr. "I think it is terrible that this is allowed to go on."

While patients tried to cope with delays, the strike also increased the pressures on non-union and management staff, who have been called on to do some tasks normally performed by nurses. "There is no question that standards of care are deteriorating," said James Rodger, assistant to the president at the Health Sciences Centre. "People here are tired. We worry that there could be errors due to fatigue. We cannot guarantee that patients won't get hurt."

And Rodger voiced another concern: that the protracted strike will leave a legacy of bitterness that will further strain relations between nurses and health-care administrators. "Temperatures are wearing thin as the strike moves into a tough, grinding process," Rodgers told *Maclean's*. In an effort to ease the tensions, the centre and other hospitals have allowed nurses picketing in temperatures that over the past few weeks have fallen to as low as -39° C to warm up indoors. Declared Rodger: "We provided coffee from Day 1. We did not want any of our people getting hurt. This is a battle between institutions—not a personal one."

Chernecki also said that the real battle was between her union and the government. And she added that it could cause lasting damage to Manitoba's Tories, who won last September's provincial election with a slim, three-seat majority. "The government's mentality is against women," said Chernecki, noting that less than three per cent of her union's members are men. "It does not pay attention, especially since it won its majority. But we will remember—when we vote."

Still, that consideration is unlikely to change Filmon's position. Instead, as Manitoba's Tories struggle to balance the budget, the nurses' strike may be the first skirmish in a battle with labor that threatens to spread in the months ahead.

JOHN HOWSE with MAUREEN BROSNAN in Winnipeg

National Notes

RIDEOUT BOWS OUT

Newfoundland opposition leader Thomas Rideout resigned as leader of the Conservative party because, he said, the Tories will have a better chance of winning the next provincial election with a new leader. Rideout, 42, succeeded Brian Peckford as premier after winning the party leadership in March, 1989, but Clyde Wells's Liberals won the election one month later. Rideout, a former teacher who was first elected to the Newfoundland House of Assembly in 1975, said that he will remain as interim party leader until a leadership convention is held later this year.

EUROPEAN CRITICISM

A five-member delegation from the European Parliament, which last year passed a resolution condemning Canada's handling of the Oka crisis, visited the area to study current relations between whites and Indians. The delegates, who met with Mohawks as well as Quebec officials, said that they do not plan to be critical. But after the Quebec provincial police ordered the visitors to leave the woods where the summer standoff took place, one delegate, German Social Democrat Dieter Rogalla, declared: "Policemen can do whatever they want in this country."

TANKS FOR QUEBEC?

A spokesman for the Quebec provincial police said that the force is interested in purchasing armored vehicles and has sent three officers to the United States to examine various models. Quebec Public Security Minister Claude Ryan later said that last summer's standoff at Oka showed that the force did not have the equipment to deal with the crisis.

ABORTION HEARINGS

The Senate legal affairs committee reconvened hearings into Ottawa's new abortion legislation. Ontario Health Minister Evelyn Gigantes and the presidents of the Society of Obstetricians and Gynecologists of Canada and the Canadian Medical Association spoke against the bill, which would allow abortions only if a doctor determined that a woman's physical or mental health was threatened.

SHOPPING, U.S.-STYLE

Statistics Canada reported that traffic from Canada to the United States has increased dramatically. Last November, there were 4.6 million daylong car trips to the United States, up 32.5 per cent from November, 1989. Analysts said that much of the increase is due to Canadians shopping across the border.





Pro-democracy protesters in Vilnius: condemning Gorbachev's attempts to preserve unity by authoritarian means

WORLD

A KREMLIN ATTACK

For two days last week, hundreds of thousands of solemn mourners waited for up to 11 hours in a line that stretched for more than four kilometres outside the Palace of Sports arena in the Lithuanian capital of Vilnius. Once inside, they filed through a flag-draped hall and past the open coffins of nine of the 14 victims gunned down or crushed to death under the treads of tanks during the brutal Soviet army assault on the city's main TV transmitter on Jan. 13. At the republic's parliament building nearby, thousands of other Lithuanian nationalists maintained nightly vigils. They worked frantically to dig anti-tank ditches and build

LITHUANIANS BURY THE VICTIMS OF A BRUTAL ARMY ASSAULT AND DIG IN TO DEFEND THEIR PARLIAMENT

barricades around the building, or huddled around bonfires, warming themselves against the wind sweeping in across the Neris River. After hearing reports that Soviet paratroopers were planning to attack the legislature, many people voiced their determination to protect the building that houses their freely elected government. "Lithuania may be small and the Soviet Union powerful," said Rimantas Morkvenas, a 41-year-old mathematician. "But we will never stop fighting for our freedom."

That could prove to be a futile battle. The powerful central government's armed forces outnumber the 3.7 million inhabitants of the tiny Baltic republic. More than 80 per cent of

them are ethnic Lithuanians who, polls show, overwhelmingly support the republican government's March 11 declaration of independence. But that declaration has provoked the Kremlin's wrath and, last week, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev seemed increasingly intent on reining in his fractious empire. Even as Lithuanians mourned their dead, members of the so-called black-beret units of the Soviet interior ministry shot to death a 39-year-old man in Riga, capital of the neighboring Baltic republic of Latvia. The attack followed several army shootings designed, Latvian officials said, to sow panic in the republic.

The Kremlin crackdown in Lithuania prompted a storm of international criticism amid widespread fears that Gorbachev either had decided to reverse five years of democratic reforms—or had lost control of the country to hard-line security forces. In either case, said Richard Johnston, a former Ontario MPP who was in Vilnius just before the crackdown as part of a provincial delegation, "we may be seeing a counter-revolution already in progress."

Canada, the United States, Japan and the European Community all threatened to review their aid programs to the Soviet Union. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney sent Gorbachev a letter condemning the army's "unwarranted violence." And on Friday, President George Bush telephoned Gorbachev and called for a peaceful solution to the Baltic dispute. But some congressmen demanded stronger action. Said Republican Senator Malcolm Wallop: "Gorbachev has shown he is no longer to be trusted."

Meanwhile, the Soviet parliament overwhelmingly approved two Gorbachev nominees to senior government posts. Former finance minister Valentin Pavlov, 53, became prime minister to replace Nikolai Ryzhkov, who suffered a heart attack last month, and Moscow's former ambassador to Washington, Alexander Bessmertnykh, 57, became foreign minister, replacing Eduard Shevardnadze, who resigned in December.

Even as Gorbachev secured two new allies in government, however, he faced harsh condemnation from Russian republic leader Boris Yeltsin, Leningrad Mayor Anatoly Sobchek and other liberals for his attempts to preserve the Soviet Union's crumbling unity through authoritarian measures. But most state-controlled media largely ignored such critics and, in what appeared to be a throwback to a pre-Gorbachev era, devoted most of their coverage

to the Kremlin's interpretation of events.

According to the official version, published by the Soviet news agency TASS last week, members of the National Salvation Committee, a shadowy pro-Kremlin organization in Vilnius, had called on the army to seize the transmission tower after local television officials refused their request to stop broadcasting anti-Soviet invective. The armed forces went to the tower, Soviet officials said, but advanced only after Lithuanians opened fire, killing one officer. The National Salvation Committee, apparently made up of Communists and local Russians who oppose independence, claimed to have assumed power last week.

Only a few publications defied the Kremlin. The independent weekly *Moscow News* published a statement signed by 30 leading liber-



Soviet soldiers: a storm of international criticism

als, including two of the president's former economic advisers, calling the army action the "crime of a regime that does not want to leave the stage." Citing the letter, Gorbachev asked parliament to suspend press freedoms. Deputies objected and passed a watered-down resolution instead, calling for a committee to investigate media objectivity.

The statement in the *Moscow News* said that Gorbachev had approved of the operation. In fact, Gorbachev has not criticized the military assault, although he denied advance knowledge of the action, saying that local commanders had ordered it. Lithuanian nationalists openly scoffed at that statement. They noted that the Soviet president began sending paratroopers to the Baltics on Jan. 7 to round up draft

World Notes

AID TO EL SALVADOR

The White House announced the restoration of \$49 million in military aid to the right-wing government of El Salvador. A spokesman provided two reasons for releasing the frozen funds: reports that Nicaragua's Sandinista army supplied Salvadoran leftist rebels with ground-to-air missiles late last year and allegations that rebels executed three U.S. military advisers who had survived a helicopter crash on Jan. 2. More than 70,000 people have died in the country's 11-year civil war.

A BLIGHT ON THE BIG APPLE

Declaring that the "boom now has gone bust," the mayor of New York City, David Dinkins, announced plans to lay off 16,000 city workers, give early retirement to 8,000 others and reduce services to eliminate a \$3-billion budget deficit for the 1992 tax year. City council will vote on the budget plan in June.

A NEW GERMAN GOVERNMENT

German Chancellor Helmut Kohl formed his new government, although most of the old cabinet remained, including Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher. The "five new states," as former East Germany is now known, will be represented by only three cabinet members, angering critics who have said that the rich west effectively annexed the formerly Communist east at unification on Oct. 3.

A BALLOONING RECORD

British tycoon Richard Branson and his Swedish co-pilot, Per Lindstrand, became the first people to cross the Pacific Ocean in a hot-air balloon. The two men, who flew approximately 6,500 miles to the Northwest Territories from Japan in two days, beat their own hot-air balloon distance record of 3,075 miles, which they set in 1987.

GROWING DANGER IN SOMALIA

Claiming that it was too dangerous to continue working, an international team of nine medical volunteers fled battle-torn Mogadishu, Somalia's capital. Fierce fighting in the East African country since rebels stormed the capital on Dec. 30 has claimed at least 1,500 lives.

A SERIAL KILLER CONFESSES

A prostitute confessed to murdering seven men in a case that has frightened residents of central Florida for the past year. Capt. Steven Binegar, a sheriff's investigator, said that it was "her hatred of men" that led Aileen Wuornos, 34, to lure male drivers off the state's highways and kill them.

evaders, an action that they described as a pretext to force the Baltic republics to abandon their independence drives.

In the wake of the assault on the transmission tower in Vilnius, Lithuanian government spokesmen grimly noted that their oft-repeated predictions had borne bloody fruit: the Soviet crackdown on Lithuania, and provocative army actions in neighboring Latvia and Estonia, had occurred while the world's attention was focused on the Persian Gulf war. But some Baltic leaders cautiously predicted that there would be no further clashes. They said that the storm of protest raised by the bungled takeover of the television tower may have forestalled an even bloodier attack on the Lithuanian parliament. Latvian Prime Minister Ivars Godmanis declared: "The most dangerous moment has passed."

But in Vilnius, there was little evidence of such optimism late last week. Outwardly, the city of 570,000 residents appeared calm, with traffic moving through the streets, factories operating and customers lining up outside meagrely supplied state food stores. But black ribbons attached to scores of yellow, green and red Lithuanian flags provided mute evidence of a city in mourning. And defenders of the republic's legislature continued to channel their grief into action, lining up bulldozers and other construction equipment around a six-foot-high barricade surrounding parliament.

By midweek, that barricade had become known as Lithuania's Freedom Wall. It was festooned with symbols of protest against Soviet rule: passports, military medals and cartoons that compared Gorbachev to Adolf Hitler, former Soviet dictator Josef Stalin and Iraqi President Saddam Hussein.

Inside the building, as many as 600 Lithuanians gathered to protect legislators who were meeting in emergency session. Some members of that makeshift defence force, largely composed of draft-age youths, said that they had spent two weeks in the building, alternating guard duty with periods of rest on mattresses strewn across the legislature's marble floors. They spent hours lounging in plush, high-backed chairs, checking and cleaning a motley array of weapons ranging from hunting rifles to knives and even clubs.

Although many of the young defenders said that they were prepared to resist a Red Army attack, no one claimed that their poorly equipped force would be able to hold out against heavily armed soldiers. "We would fight," said Romunas Baltakartis, 19, who has refused to comply with the Soviet draft call. "But it would be another massacre." Baltakartis tucked his principal weapon, a flare gun, into the waistband of his jeans, and added: "It is up

to Gorbachev and the army leaders who control him to decide if they want that."

At week's end, military spokesman Maj.-Gen. Yuri Nauman dismissed claims that an army attack on the legislature was likely. Said Nauman: "The Supreme Soviet of Lithuania has put up fences and trenches where we have no desire to appear."

Less than 10 km to the west of parliament,



Funeral for victims: showing a quiet determination to be free

however, 10 Soviet tanks were still parked around the base of the 790-foot-tall TV tower, their guns pointed towards a chain link fence surrounding it. Outside that fence, a steady stream of residents came to gaze silently through the wire at a Soviet flag protruding from one of the tower's windows. Many of those visitors left flowers and candles to mark the places where Lithuanian nationalists died.

Among the mourners was Laimonas Tapinas, one of the last civilians to leave the tower at 3 a.m. on Jan. 13. Tapinas rejected government allegations that Lithuanians had fired first. Said Tapinas: "Independent witnesses, including foreign correspondents, saw what happened, and there was no armed resistance from the Lithuanians."

After the tragedy, more than 200,000 people attended a Jan. 16 funeral service for nine of the victims at the city's St. Stanislaw Roman Catholic Cathedral. Many of the mourners carried flowers and memorial candles in a calm, hushed tribute broken only by tolling church bells and

sombre hymns. Said Morkvenas: "People from all across Lithuania attended the service—they are quiet out of respect, but they are also here to show their determination to be free."

At the same time, Gorbachev is under increasingly sharp attack. One of his most powerful critics, Russian leader Yeltsin, reacted to the shootings in Vilnius by flying to Estonia. There, he signed a pact in which Russia and the three Baltic republics pledged still-unspecified mutual support if their sovereignty is threatened. In addition, Yeltsin suggested that the Russian republic may have to form its own security force, and urged Russians in the Soviet army to disobey orders to fire on peaceful civilians. However, state-controlled media carried few reports of Yeltsin's statements, while devoting extensive coverage to Gorbachev's criticism of him.

In a rare exception to the news agency's generally pro-government coverage, TASS political analyst Andrei Orlov warned that a similarly brutal army intervention in the Georgian capital of Tbilisi in April, 1989, fuelled the separatist movement in that southern republic. And Orlov predicted that the bloodshed in Vilnius had brought Gorbachev's policies of *perestroika* to the verge of ruin. He added: "Now, it is doubtful that republican leaders will trust President Gorbachev, who exerted great efforts to gather them together."

Other reformers, citing such incidents as Shevardnadze's resignation last month, coupled with his warning that dictatorship was imminent, say that Gorbachev is now a prisoner of conservative forces in the Communist party. Said Yuri Afanasiev, a historian and leader of the reformist Democratic Russia movement: "As a politician, Gorbachev has exhausted himself and, from a historical perspective, he has no future." That judgment is widely accepted in Vilnius and in many other places across the Soviet Union. Whether such dissenters, or the hard-liners in the Kremlin, ultimately prevail may determine whether the world emerges from the Persian Gulf crisis only to face the devastating prospect of civil war and political collapse in the Soviet Union.

MALCOLM GRAY in Vilnius

Gorbachev: under fire



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COVER

FLAMES OF WAR

The liberation of Kuwait has begun.

—George Bush

The mother of all battles has started.

—Saddam Hussein

War has a peculiar power to rivet and repel, to engage the mind even as it tears at the heart. TV adds to it. Everyone seems to be watching, minute by minute, bomb by bomb.

Exotic-sounding names become familiar, the way Hanoi and Dieppe are; sidewalk pundits are appearing everywhere, discussing payloads and command centres. The most bizarre things happen in war. People suffocate in gas masks. Bombs find their way through doors and air shafts. The weapons have colorful nicknames like Wild Weasels and Thunderbolts, and what they can do is devastating, but somehow abstract. The abstraction will not last. More of the dead will be identified. Spouses and parents will weep at gravesides.

Of course, for many people, including the families and friends of the 1,850 Canadian service personnel in the Persian Gulf, the terror has already hit home. Hope, prayer—those are *their* weapons of war. Glory is for another time, for the selective memory of hindsight and the inevitable TV movies.

The main characters of the current drama are George Bush and Saddam Hussein. The two presidents have never met. They have almost nothing in common, although they will always be linked now, locked by historians in a battle of nerves that, after more than five tortuous months, finally erupted last week into a battle of air forces and armies with grave implications whatever the outcome (page 22).

Bush, 66, is the child of privilege, tall and

lean, a usually cautious man who climbed so carefully up the political ladder that critics branded him a "wimp." He has been fighting that image like a curse. The Persian Gulf war may dispel it forever.

His opponent, the 53-year-old Hussein, was born into poverty. He is a solid, moustachioed man of such brutal ambition that he earned the nickname the Butcher of Baghdad, although Bush prefers to compare him to Adolf Hitler. Hussein is an enigma to Westerners. They tend to dismiss him as a madman, but he seems too politically cunning to write off so easily, and too popular among dispossessed Arabs. In fact, that entire part of the world, with its ancient passions, its fierce piety and its reverence for fearless Arab champions, remains an enigma to Westerners.

In a way, the war, too, seems difficult to understand. There is a nagging sense that, for all their stated reasons and heated rhetoric, the leaders never quite intended a full-scale conflict. Each seemed to back himself into a position from which there was no retreat. Each looked to history as his guide. Bush invoked British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain's fateful appeasement of Adolf Hitler in 1938. The American President has his own memories of the Second World War, in which Japanese anti-aircraft fire shot down his Avenger bomber over the Pacific. At the same time, Bush's taste for brinkmanship, manifested in the American-sponsored UN deadline for an Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait, is reminiscent of the way John F. Kennedy faced down Nikita Khrushchev in 1962, forcing him to withdraw Soviet missiles from Cuba.

Hussein was apparently not intimidated. That is part of the enigma. Experts speculated that he has a martyr complex, or that he might actually think he can win. One

common view is that Hussein, with his visions of pan-Arab leadership, might prefer to lose a war than to lose face. He has only to recall the experience of Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser, who twice suffered military setbacks at the hands of the Israelis, but died a hero to fellow Arabs. Hussein, meanwhile, could review the Americans' recent history: how the North Vietnamese had ground them into a dubious "peace with honor" by 1973, how a terrorist truck-bomb that killed 241 marines drove them out of Lebanon in 1984. The Americans, he has said, cannot stand the blood.

In the end, as each man called the other's bluff, associates described both Bush and Hussein as calm; convinced of their rightness, serene in their stubbornness. They seemed likely to direct their war efforts with equal determination. Bush was counting on American firepower. Hussein was banking on Iraqi staying power, perhaps hoping that Bush's resolve would flag if the fighting dragged on long enough to become politically unpopular. Voices of antiwar activism were already speaking up around the world, and those in Canada seemed certain to rise as Canadian CF-18s took on their new sweep-and-escort duties.

And people everywhere remained slaves to their televisions, caught up in the story, brimming with unanswerable questions. How long would the fighting last? How many casualties? Would the alliance disappear, like footprints in the sand? No less a warrior than Napoleon described war as "the business of barbarians." The world could only hope that the business in the Gulf, high drama though it was, would come quickly to an end.

BOB LEVIN



THE DOGS UNCHAINED

THE POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE WAR MAY BE MORE UNNERVING THAN THE WAR ITSELF



Hussein in bunker: harsh threats of terrorist retaliation

From the beginning, it was like no other war in history. For one thing, it broke out on schedule: the United Nations had set a deadline for the forces of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein to leave Kuwait—or else. The war was announced by a confident U.S. President on prime-time television shortly after it started at about 6:30 p.m. EST on Jan. 16. But in the days that followed, Iraq's resistance ended early hopes of a swift victory. The computerized conflict, fought under the relentless eye of spy satellites, still ran the risk of ending in devastating trench warfare in the sands of Kuwait. In an era celebrated for the Cold War thaw, millions of people outside the war zone were transfixed by reports of the U.S.-led coalition's bombing of Baghdad, of rockets and tracer fire lighting up the night sky, of the Scud missile attacks on Israel. At week's end, while most of the death and destruction was still out of view, Middle East experts speculated that the worldwide political consequences of the UN-sanctioned mission against Hussein might be more unnerving than the war itself.

The fight had enormous implications for many nations and hundreds of millions of people, including the embattled Israelis and Palestinians. Iraq's apparently inevitable defeat by U.S.-dominated forces, some Middle East experts said, was likely to strengthen anti-Western Islamic fundamentalism and endanger moderate Arab governments. And regardless of when and how the war ended, the menace of terrorism might haunt the West for months or years. Iraq's capitulation would also create an alluring power vacuum for Baghdad's neighbors, especially Syria, Iran and Turkey. And because the United Nations had approved the use of force, small nations could regard the world body even more as a superpower club and be less inclined to support it. Said Arab Canadian economics professor Atif Kubursi of Hamilton's McMaster University: "The United Nations will be a casualty."

At the weekend, the most compelling issue was the possibility of Israel joining the conflict. Hussein had said on several occasions that if the coalition attacked Iraq, his forces would strike Israel. Washington had appealed to Israel not to respond, fearing that retaliation could drive its Arab coalition partners, particularly Syria, into the Iraqi camp. U.S. officials repeated their appeal after the first Iraqi Scud missiles struck Tel Aviv and Haifa on Friday, causing some minor injuries. But in Jerusalem, hard-line Israeli Defence Minister Moshe Arens declared:

"We have said, publicly and to the Americans, that if we were attacked, we would react. We were attacked." Then, on Saturday, the Jewish Sabbath, three more missiles struck Tel Aviv, injuring at least 16 people. After two telephone conversations between President George Bush and Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, a senior U.S. official said that the Israelis had agreed to refrain from retaliating immediately.

For Canada, the fighting promised to challenge a nation that has not been at war since the Korean conflict four decades ago. On Thursday, a Canadian Forces Boeing 707 aerial tanker refuelled two U.S. fighter jets, likely saving them from ditching in the Gulf. Then, on Friday, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney ignored opposition critics and ordered the 24-plane squadron of CF-18 fighters, stationed in the emirate of Qatar, to escort and protect the American, British and other forces in bombing runs over Iraq (page 30 and page 34). The new role was to begin last weekend. Meanwhile, officials tightened security at airports and oil refineries across Canada to prevent terrorist attacks (page 36).

Gains: Throughout Thursday and Friday, financial markets around the world rose and fell almost hourly in reaction to the news from the Middle East (page 40). But they ended the week with substantial gains. In New York City, the Dow Jones industrial average at the Friday close was up 145 points from the previous week, the largest weekly climb in its history. The Toronto composite index was up 28 points for the week. Oil prices, which some experts had predicted would hit \$60 (U.S.) a barrel or higher if war broke out, fell to below \$20 a barrel for the first time in six months, com-



pared with \$32 shortly before the UN deadline expired.

Action: Meanwhile, for the more than one million Iraqi and coalition troops facing each other across the Arabian peninsula, the battle that began in part over oil was quickly joined. The initial U.S.-led attack took place less than 19 hours after the UN's Jan. 15 deadline for Iraqi troops to withdraw from Kuwait, which they occupied on Aug. 2. And it followed eleventh-hour diplomatic efforts by UN Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, the French government and several Arab leaders, none of whom was able to shake Hussein's intransigence. Many troops seemed anxious to get into action and end the fighting as quickly as possible. "It's almost a relief that the dam has finally burst after more than 160 days in country," said Maj. Baxter Ennis of the U.S. army's 82nd Airborne Division, the first to arrive in Saudi Arabia last August.

Launching so-called defence suppression missions, U.S. planes tried to cripple Iraqi radar and command

centres in Baghdad and elsewhere. They were followed by waves of American, British, Saudi, Kuwaiti and Italian fighters and fighter-bombers. The warplanes struck military airfields in Iraq and Kuwait, a presidential compound in Baghdad, other government buildings, the telecommunications centre of the Iraqi capital and widely scattered launching sites for Iraqi Scud missiles. President Bush learned from a television report that the assault was under way—and he remarked later



U.S. fighter pilot returns from a mission; Khafji oil depot (above): fireworks

THE WAR COULD DRIVE ARABS INTO THE ARMS OF ISLAMIC HARD-LINERS

that it had begun 20 minutes ahead of schedule.

Three TV correspondents for the Atlanta-based Cable News Network watched the initial bombardment from their ninth-floor Baghdad hotel room. They provided hours of dramatic telephone commentary as bomb blasts and anti-aircraft fire brightened the predawn sky over the ancient capital (page 43). *Maclean's* Correspondent John Holland, who was also in the hotel during the raid, reported that after the first attack, "all the lights were off and phone lines were down, and an acrid smell and smoke hung over the city" (page 28).

Hiroshima: The U.S. command later said that one American, one Kuwaiti and two British planes were lost in the first day's attack, the Iraqis claimed to have shot down 55 coalition planes. Weapons experts said that the first air assault hit Baghdad with 18,000 tons of high explosives—which is 1½ times the destructive force of the atomic bomb that the United States dropped on the Japanese city of Hiroshima in 1945. The Iraqis did only minimal damage in reply, striking the Khafji oil depot in northern Saudi Arabia. In a television address later that day, Hussein invoked God's help, characterized the United States as satanic and again promised to wage "the mother of all battles."

In Washington, Defence Secretary Richard Cheney and the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Gen. Colin Powell, tried to dampen first-

day optimism. Their warnings soon proved to be justified. Allied jets resumed their attacks on missile sites and began carpet bombing the Iraqi and Kuwaiti encampments of Hussein's well-trained, 150,000-member Republican



Bush: the war began 20 minutes earlier than planned

Guard. But the Iraqis launched their missiles at Tel Aviv and Haifa, the two major population centres on Israel's Mediterranean coast.

Israeli radio reported that 12 civilians were injured and property was damaged. The worst-

hit area was a poor, working-class district of south Tel Aviv. Rivka Shulian, a 50-year-old mother of two teenage children, told *Maclean's* as she stood in the rubble of her tiny home: "I have lived through three wars, but I have never seen anything like this." Menachem Cohen, who lives near the site of the explosion, collected souvenir shrapnel. Said Cohen: "I want it so that I shall never forget Saddam Hussein." Another Scud flew towards the huge Saudi Arabian base of Dhahran, near the Kuwaiti border, but a U.S. surface-to-air Patriot missile intercepted it.

The Gulf battles swiftly intensified antiwar protests in Canada and around the world (page 42). The major preoccupation of law-enforcement agencies in Europe and North America, however, was the terrorism that Saddam Hussein had threatened. In Detroit, which has the largest concentration of Arab Americans in the United States, Mayor Coleman Young declared an antiterrorist state of emergency and asked for Michigan National Guard troops to protect vital services. In Washington, the state department warned Americans to be vigilant at home and abroad. In New Delhi, a bomb exploded in a building housing an agent of American Airlines, and in Manila an Iraqi man was killed and another wounded when a bomb they were apparently trying to plant at U.S. offices exploded prematurely.

Stalemate: Meanwhile, some military experts and Middle East specialists estimated that the war would last a month or less, although France's armed forces chief of staff said it might go on for three months. Some analysts said that if Iraq refused to surrender, the allied forces might begin prolonged bombing of Iraqi industries. Others said that Hussein could try to stall

the missiles sped to their targets at 550 m.p.h. Some of the at least 100 Tomahawks deployed on the first night of hostilities contained dozens of individual bombs that explode across a wide area on impact.

When the F-15Es arrived over their targets, they dropped what military analysts call "smart bombs." In some cases, the bombs have tiny television cameras mounted in their noses, and a co-pilot watching a video screen can guide them to a target several miles below with pinpoint accuracy. Still others are guided to their targets by laser beams. Iraq's immediate response was minimal. Although it did manage to hit Israel with some missiles, Western military analysts said the superior technology of the coalition forces, designed to face a more sophisticated enemy, had inflicted a devastating initial blow that severely curtailed Iraq's ability to mount an attack in the air.

From U.S. aircraft carriers operating deep in the Persian Gulf, Tomahawks were fired at strategic targets in Iraq. Using radar to feed information about the terrain below to detailed computerized maps in their guidance systems,

TOM FENNEL



Damage in Tel Aviv: appeals for restraint in order not to divide the coalition

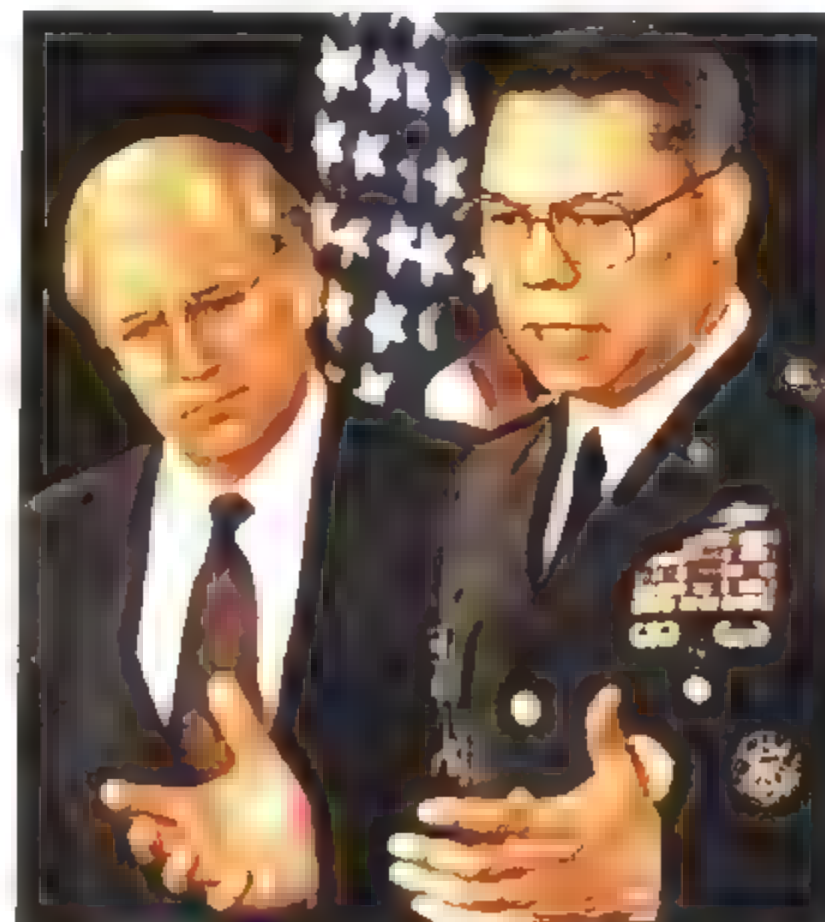
the coalition with grinding trench warfare and sap its will to fight. "He thinks we don't have the stomach for ground warfare," said Lawrence Korb, an analyst at the Brookings Institution, a nonpartisan Washington think-tank. "He believes that he can make casualties high. He thinks that it will be a First World War stalemate." Added Korb: "I think he's wrong."

Regardless of the outcome, the peace is likely to be troublesome. One major issue will be the Palestinians. For nearly half a century, hundreds of thousands of them have nursed the hope of one day returning to their long-vanished homes in present-day Israel from Jordan and Lebanon. More than 1.7 million of them live in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. Many Palestinians, said Ranu Kabbani, a London-based specialist on the Middle East, believe that their last chance of gaining their own homeland lies with Saddam Hussein. "Any crushing victory for the anti-Saddam coalition," said Kabbani, "will allow Israel to dictate a solution to the Palestinian problem."

Crushing: Already, Israel has made it clear that PLO chairman Yasser Arafat's support for Iraq has eliminated any chance that he would be involved in talks on the future of the Palestinians. Said Israeli deputy foreign minister Bunyamin Netanyahu. "Are we destined to live in a world that says it doesn't make any difference what the PLO says, it doesn't make any difference what the PLO does, we will always try to make Israel negotiate the un-negotiable? We cannot negotiate our existence."

A crushing Iraqi defeat would also have a profound psychological impact on millions of other Arabs. Said Philip Robins, an analyst at London's Royal Institute of International Af-

fairs: "An inglorious rout would leave the Arab world more divided, cowed, insecure and weaker than ever, fanning resentment that could last a generation." On the other hand, French commentator Alain Prevost said that if Hussein held out for a week "against a sustained air and land assault, he will win a hero's place in the Arab storybook." Added Robins: "If Saddam survives the war with dignity, he wins."



Cheney (left) and Powell: dampening initial optimism

If he does not, the result could be new power struggles among the nations of the Middle East. Syrian President Hafez al-Assad is Hussein's sworn enemy, and his own designs on Arab leadership may have led him to join the coalition. But Basma Kadmani-Darwesh of the

French Institute for International Relations in Paris said that Syria must also realize "that an Iraqi rout puts it in greater danger from Israel."

The allies' postwar policies could be a key element in the regional equation. Col. Andrew Duncan of the London-based International Institute of Strategic Studies said that the United States should not station an occupation force in Iraq or force Baghdad to pay reparations to Kuwait. He added: "The coalition must leave some form of administration and military structure in place, if only to keep the vultures—Syria, Iran and Turkey—from trying to fill any power vacuum, and to prove that we are intent not on punishing the Iraqi people but on nailing Saddam Hussein."

'Turmoil': Another dangerous result of a humiliating Iraqi defeat could be the rapid spread of vengeful Moslem fundamentalism. McMaster's Atif Kubursi said that "humiliation and frustration" would drive many Arabs into the arms of Islam's spiritual hard-liners, who revile the West. Said Kubursi: "The Moslem world will be anti-West, a very unsafe and undesirable world."

That view appeared to be widely held. Hadia Dajani-Shakeel, a Toronto-based Islamic scholar, said that Iran's theocratic rulers might try to seize the "spiritual leadership" of the Islamic world. A Cairo-based diplomat who has been in the Middle East for 15 years, and who asked to remain anonymous, said that the war would touch off "tremendous turmoil and strains throughout the region." Although U.S. officials have argued that a swift victory over Iraq would strengthen Arab moderates, some area analysts are skeptical. Said one diplomat: "The Americans are prone to wishful thinking." It is impossible to predict, he said, how much instability would follow in Jordan, North Africa and the Gulf.

For generations, the vast, storied and troubled land from the Mediterranean to the Gulf has been a mystery to outsiders—and to many people who live there. French political commentator Edgar Morin wrote in the Paris newspaper *Le Monde* last week: "The Middle East is arguably the world's most earthquake-prone area because it is the place where East and West, North and South, collide, the crossroads of Islam, Christianity and Judaism; the dividing line between secularism and religion; between modernism and fundamentalism. At some moments, the sound of a dropping pin will rock the region. At others, the most thundering crash will hardly ripple the surface." Now, the world has witnessed the thundering crash of war. But it seems unlikely that the consequences will be limited to a ripple.

RAE CORELLI with ERIC SILVER in Jerusalem. ANDREW PHILLIPS in Dhahran, HILARY MACKENZIE in Washington, PETER LEWIS in Brussels and MARY NEMETH in Toronto

THE HIGH-TECH BATTLEFRONT

As the first wave of heavily armed U.S. F-15E fighter-bombers roared out of airbases in Saudi Arabia last week, deadly Tomahawk cruise missiles were probably already ripping apart Iraqi air defences. Thirty minutes later, when the initial wave of F-15Es arrived over their targets deep inside Iraq, they faced little resistance. Military analysts said that the U.S.-led assault benefited from the element of surprise, made possible in large part by the first full-scale use of futuristic weapons and radar-jamming systems that were designed to be used against a far more powerful enemy—the Soviet Union. Said Martin Shadwick, a research associate with the Toronto-based Centre for International and Strategic Studies: "The Americans used

'INFIDELS' ON HOLY LAND

WESTERN CUSTOMS ROCK SAUDI ARABIA

The sprawling governor's complex in Saudi Arabia's Eastern Province, completed just eight years ago, is a marbled monument to modernity. But last week, as officials worked on their personal computers in air-conditioned offices, a ceremony from another age was taking place elsewhere in the complex. In one of its most ornate rooms, the young vice-governor, Prince Fahd ibn Salman ibn Abdul Aziz, was receiving petitions from a procession of robed men. One by one, they greeted the prince, a nephew of Saudi Arabia's King Fahd, by shaking his hand or kissing his right shoulder, then sat briefly before him and presented papers with requests for help or favors. A grizzled guard armed with a ceremonial sabre in a golden scabbard ushered each man out. The daily reception, called a majlis, or council, gives Saudis direct access to the prince and other leaders. "Anyone can come," said Prince Fahd. "It is our type of democracy."

Challenge: For many Saudis, the continuing importance of the majlis system provides reassurance that traditional tribal methods of consultation between leaders and ordinary people can be adapted to modern, wealthy Saudi Arabia. But 5½ months after Iraq invaded Kuwait and presented the once-reclusive kingdom with its greatest challenge ever, a growing minority of liberal Saudis say that those practices now may become severely tested. Whatever the outcome of the war that began last week, they say, the protracted Gulf crisis has already unleashed profound forces of change in the country. King Fahd's momentous decision to allow a massive Western army to use his land as a base to attack another Moslem country violated many Saudi taboos and underscored the kingdom's vulnerability. "The effects will be long-lasting," said Khaled al-Maeena, editor of the English-language Saudi newspaper *Arab News*. "A new era has come."

In the early stages of the crisis, evidence of that new era was abundant. Saudis who once insisted that Westerners abide by the strict

code of conduct prescribed by their Wahhabi sect of Islam relaxed many rules in the rush to shore up their defences against Iraq's threatening armies. Female American soldiers carried rifles and drove trucks in a country that allows its women only a minimal public role. And King Fahd renewed promises of political reform. More recently, however, conservative

influences" into the country and subverting Islamic values.

The result, Western observers say, is that the Saudi royal family, anxious to defend itself against fundamentalist criticism, may try to eradicate the liberalizing effects of the crisis as soon as it ends. In fact, the government has already taken firm steps against some attempts at change. In early November, several dozen Saudi women drove cars through the capital, Riyadh, to dramatize their demand that women should be allowed to drive—in part because they might be left helpless during a war. The protest was short-lived: several women lost their jobs as teachers on the all-female campus of King Saud University in Riyadh. And the country's hard-line interior minister, Prince Naif ibn Abdul Aziz, banned all public demonstrations in a move that many observers interpreted as a declaration of war on liberalizing influences.

Chastise: Shortly afterward, Saudi Arabia's so-called religious police stepped up their activities in enforcing the country's bans against alcohol and the social mixing of men and women who are not closely related. Known as the *muttawwa*, Arabic for volunteers (but nicknamed the "God squad" by some irreverent Westerners), its members normally patrol the streets and chastise shopkeepers who continue to do business during prayer times, which occur five times each day. The *muttawwa* also use slender sticks to strike the legs of women whom they judge to be immodestly dressed. Recently, the religious police have become more aggressive, even entering private homes and arresting Saudis and foreigners accused of drinking or excessive mingling with members of the opposite sex.

Some American servicewomen have also been targets of the *muttawwa*. One woman air force major described how she and a friend, dressed in civilian clothes, were harassed in a Riyadh shopping centre when a "volunteer" decided that they had not adequately covered their arms with the black robes, called abayas,



King Fahd and U.S. Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf: 'a new era'

religious elements, upset by the impact of the foreign forces, have reassured themselves. Based mainly in central Saudi Arabia's Qasim district, the fundamentalists have circulated clandestine pamphlets and audiotapes criticizing some members of the government for allowing what they call "corrupting Western

that women must wear in public. Said the major: "It ticks you off when you're here defending their country."

At the same time, there have been signs of greater openness. The Saudi press has become more outspoken, and some newspapers have published photographs of American women soldiers working and driving vehicles—violating Saudi standards of propriety. And in mid-November, King Fahd renewed a long-standing promise that the country would establish a *shura*, or consultative council, to provide popular participation in a state that is still almost completely dominated by the king and the 5,000 members of his family.

Skeptical: King Fahd has made similar pledges in the past. And in the early 1980s, his government built an ornate building in Riyadh, equipped with an electronic voting system, to house the assembly. The building is now empty, and the past promises have made many liberal Saudis openly skeptical about the king's latest pledge. But, said editor Khaled al-Maeena, "the time has now come to cross the great divide" and establish a council.

For now, the nearest that the Saudis come to popular democracy is the majlis system. All royal family members, including the king, conduct regular receptions similar to the one held last week by Prince Fahd in the governor's complex in Dammam on Saudi Arabia's Gulf coast. Many citizens go there to untangle problems with government agencies or to ask the prince to mediate in disputes. The actions of some of the petitioners underline how backward some parts of the country remain. Prince Fahd told *Maclean's* that a herdsman recently asked him to provide gas masks for his goats

and camels in case of war. "I told him we would work on it," the prince said with a smile.

Many Western analysts dismiss the majlis as window dressing for an autocratic system that provides no real opportunity for popular participation in decision-making. But Western-educated Saudi leaders, including Prince Fahd, are

Armed fundamentalists occupied the Grand Mosque in Mecca in 1979, and the criticism of the foreign military presence demonstrates that militant anti-Western forces remain a potential threat to the government. Partly for that reason, Saudi authorities maintain that it would be disastrous to move too quickly to



A market in Dammam: traditional tribal methods adapted to a modern, wealthy country

clearly aware of dangers. Most of their fellow countrymen, whose riches stemmed largely from oil, attach more importance to traditional Islamic values than to Western-style democracy. The Shah of Iran, they frequently note, attempted to westernize his country in the 1970s—only to provoke a fundamentalist backlash that swept him out of power.

Similar dangers are present in Saudi Arabia.

towards a system of elective democracy. "You cannot impose something on people," said Prince Fahd. "Whatever develops here must grow from within." Such a cautious assessment indicates that, no matter how long Western armies remain in the country, hopes for change by Saudi liberals will not soon be fulfilled.

ANDREW PHILLIPS in Dammam

LIFE BEHIND THE MASKS

Eight-year-old Nicole Willer tried on her brand-new gas mask, and then gave her verdict. "It's snug, but not too tight," she said. "Sort of like a new pair of shoes." Her nine-year-old brother, Colin, was less enthusiastic. "I don't like these things," he declared after testing his bug-eyed mask. "They make you look like something out of an *Alien* movie." The two children were among the first Canadians in eastern Saudi Arabia, within range of Iraqi Scud missiles that could be armed with chemical warheads, to receive gas masks from the Canadian government last week as war broke out in the region.

At a warehouse in the Gulf coast city of Khobar, near Dhahran, about 350 of the 600 Canadians collected their masks last

week. Saudi authorities also handed out similar protective equipment. And some other Western governments supplied the devices to their citizens, most of them workers in Saudi Arabia's oil and petrochemical industries. By the time war broke out, gas masks had become sinister fashion accessories as Saudis and expatriates compared the different models.

Les Willer, the father of Nicole, Colin and their seven-year-old sister, Colleen, moved to the area nine years ago from Sarnia, Ont., to work as a technician at Saudi Aramco, the country's largest petroleum company. In August, when Iraq invaded Kuwait and its army seemed poised to move into Saudi Arabia, Willer's wife, Teresa, took the children back to Canada for four months. But they returned in December and they appeared relieved last week when fighting ended the weeks of anxious waiting. "Now that it's going on, we can get on with our lives," said Les Willer. "For five months, we have been on pins and needles."

Canadian Embassy officials had told nation-

als in the threatened area how to protect themselves against chemical attack: put on the masks, take cover in a house and seal off doors and windows. Some Canadians expressed annoyance that Ottawa did not supply masks suitable for very young children. But the government had advised Canadians last fall to send their dependants out of the region, and most of those who remained seemed to be resigned to the situation. "If we really and truly thought we were in danger, we wouldn't be here," said Ian Galton, an electronics technician from Mississauga, Ont. Galton went with his wife, Patricia, and nine-year-old son Timothy to an embassy-sponsored briefing on the outbreak of war. Said Galton: "We're a family, and we want to stay together." Added Patricia Galton: "The sitting and waiting was the tough part. Now that it's started, the end is in sight."

A P in Khobar



DE MOENCOU/REUTERS/WIREPHOTO

Anti-aircraft fire lights up the Baghdad sky: diplomacy had run its course

had begun and that America would not fail "Bloody well hope he fails to hit this hotel," one British journalist said with a chuckle. At that moment, another bomb hit nearby, the lights went off briefly and everyone gasped.

Iraqi security officials carrying rifles blocked the exits until dawn, when we climbed the stairs to the upper floors to inspect the damage. The hotel itself appeared to be undamaged. But all the lights were off and phone lines were down, and an acrid smell and smoke hung over the city. Peering out into the hazy dawn light from my fifth-floor window, I guessed—correctly, I later learned—that some structure to the east had been badly hit. It turned out to be the building that houses the post office and telecommunications centre.

Later that morning, the air raids resumed while journalists were outside in the hotel gardens. At about 8 a.m., the anti-aircraft fire went up, and we saw and heard explosions on the city's outskirts, near a petrochemical factory. Oddly, no air-raid siren had sounded, and we did not hear the planes. "Just practising for the next raid," a journalist said nervously about the anti-aircraft fire. He was wrong. Minutes later, the ground shook as three cruise missiles slammed into the Iraqi defence ministry.

Destroyed: The telecommunications building had also been hit by a cruise missile. We learned about that later from Françoise Dumulder, a French photojournalist. Dumulder said that she saw the strangest sight: a high-tech missile whizzing down a Baghdad street at tremendous speed, weaving over, around and past cars and other obstacles towards its pre-programmed target.

Security guards prevented us from leaving the hotel. But at about 10 a.m., a few of us sneaked out when colleagues diverted one of the guards' attention. From a 15-minute drive around the capital, it was clear that the coalition forces had done their best to destroy only military and government targets, sparing the civilian population as much as possible. Bridges still stood, as did apartment blocks. The defence ministry was almost completely destroyed. So was the telecommunications building, which had a gaping hole through its fifth and sixth floors. Few cars were moving. There were shards of glass on the street near the officers' club, in front of which stood a statue of a heroic-looking Iraqi pilot, his foot planted on the wreckage of a real Iranian plane downed during the eight-year Iran-Iraq war.

Back at the hotel at about 11 a.m., Sadoun al-Janabi, the chief of public relations for the Iraqi information ministry, offered exit papers to several journalists, myself included. But we would have to go overland, because the airport had been bombed out of action. "You may leave today or tomorrow," Sadoun said. We chose the first option, partly because the air attacks were intensifying, but also because there was no longer a realistic chance of filing to the outside world.

Ten of my colleagues and I organized a convoy of cars to go to Amman, a 900-km drive

that usually takes 12 hours. One Iraqi driver refused to take us, even after we offered him a substantial sum of money. "Too many military out there," he whispered. "Big target for Americans there." But we saw no other option, and succeeded in finding three willing Iraqi drivers. So off we went: CBS producer Larry Doyle, ABC correspondent Gary Shepherd and I in one car, and the other journalists in two others. We had to pay our driver \$3,000 (U.S.) in cash to take us to the Jordanian border.

As we drove out of Baghdad at about 3:30 p.m. on Jan. 17, about 13 hours after the first missiles had been fired, the three-lane modern highway was largely empty of traffic except for occasional military vehicles. A deep blue sky with some high scattered clouds framed the view to the west. It looked curiously peaceful,

later did we learn, again through a BBC short-wave broadcast, that the coalition forces in Saudi Arabia had shot down a missile fired from Iraq, and that several others had landed in Tel Aviv and Haifa. The missiles we spotted could have been among them.

Fire: As dusk fell, our convoy, down to two cars because we had become separated from one of the others earlier, pulled into a run-down gas station in the western Iraqi city of Rutba. Suddenly, all the city lights went out and drivers turned off their headlights. The sky glowed with tracers that moved fanlike in our direction. We went to a retaining wall of the gas station, looking for shelter. A direct hit where we stood would have blown up the entire neighborhood. Then, Iraqi anti-aircraft gunners began shooting at planes that we could neither see nor hear.



Dawn breaks after the first attacks: later that morning, the air-raid sirens resumed

as if nothing horrible could ever fall from such a majestic sky. All went smoothly until about 5:30 p.m., soon after we crossed the Euphrates River. It was then, to the west, that we caught the glint of sunlight off the wings of two Iraqi Mirage fighter jets.

Dogfight: From our vantage point, they appeared to dance and weave in tandem, like two carefree swallows. Suddenly, a burst of flame came from the tail of one of the Mirages. It flipped sideways and bolted into the sky at a 45-degree angle. Seconds later, a huge explosion erupted on the ground below it. Sitting behind me in the car, Doyle pointed to two thin jet contrails much higher in the sky. A pilot from the anti-Iraq coalition had clearly fired at one of the Mirages with an air-to-air missile that missed and exploded on the ground. We drove on towards the dogfight, and soon afterwards the planes disappeared.

About an hour later, we passed a convoy of three Iraqi military trucks with canvas wrapped tightly over all but the warheads of what looked like 20-foot-long missiles. Only

Within about 10 seconds, a rhythmic pounding began a distance away. It was the kind of sound that a squadron of B-52s would make while carpet bombing. In this case, the mission was against the Walid airbase, the largest in western Iraq and a possible staging site for missile attacks on Israel. Doyle remarked, "Damned if that isn't the direction we're heading." The roar of bombs and ack-ack guns lasted at least 25 minutes, and then fell silent. Soon, the all-clear sounded, and within the hour, with a full tank of gas, we headed in the direction of the bombing we had just witnessed. But we were now alone. During the confusion of the bombing, we had lost sight of the second car in the convoy.

We hit a good stretch of road, speeding up in the hope of getting to the Jordanian border before midnight. Only about 100 km from the line, the grey night turned orange as tracers went up again, not more than eight kilometres ahead. Our driver slammed on the brakes and refused to go further, but started up about five minutes later. Again the tracers rose, sur-

rounding us with a halo of red-and-white light. "I think," one of my companions said, "this time we are really in the middle of it."

We knew that the Walid base was off to our left and that the H-3 oil-pumping station was on the right—both of them vital to Iraq's war effort. Bone-jarring pounding from ack-ack guns and high-explosive bombs began all around us. Up ahead, a huge orange ball of fire erupted, and it appeared from the silhouette that a storage facility had been struck.

Suddenly, there was a loud thump, followed by a concussion wave that forced our jaws wide open, partly from shock and partly from the pressure. "Better to keep your mouths open, in case the next one comes in real close," Doyle, a veteran war correspondent, advised from the backseat. "If your mouth is shut when a big one lands nearby, it could blow your eardrums out." At that moment, a huge chunk of glowing flak landed scarcely 15 m from our car. We took shelter under a bridge—and soon all turned silent again.

Ruins: We finally made it to the border around 1 a.m. on Jan. 18. We later learned that the other two cars in our original convoy had arrived earlier and missed the bombardment. We slept in our cars and, at 8 a.m., the Iraqi border barriers went up. We said goodbye to our Iraqi drivers, and three of us hired a Jordanian taxi, which charged us \$450 (U.S.) for the 350-km trip to Amman.

As we drove through the last barbed-wire fence into Jordan, we took one final look back at the plain 50 km east where Walid and H-3 probably sat in smoking ruins—and noticed that the bombings had begun again. It was day and night bombing now.

Driving through the 70-km-long no man's land on Jordan's border, we passed a number of Red Cross tents, erected the day before to deal with a potential new influx of refugees from Iraq. They were empty, except for a few dozen Iraqis and Egyptian guest workers. At the Jordanian checkpoint, guards asked us about the situation in Baghdad. "Is there a lot of bombing?" they asked. We nodded grudgingly, knowing that their sympathies leaned towards Iraq.

At about 3:30 p.m., 24 hours after our ordeal began, we arrived at Amman's Intercontinental Hotel, which had just received the news of a missile attack on Israel. Half of the foreign TV crews there were either in or climbing into their chemical suits, taking no chances even though the attack was a hundred kilometres away. Having just sat in a darkened car in the middle of an Iraqi desert highway, with B-52s dropping bombs all around and not a flak jacket in sight, I had to laugh. □

MOHAMED AL-WIREPHOTO

COVER

UNDER ATTACK

EXPERIENCING THE BATTLE OF BAGHDAD

As bombs and missiles rained down on Baghdad last week and ignited the Gulf war, Maclean's Correspondent John Holland was among the handful of foreign journalists who experienced firsthand the might of the U.S.-led coalition. Holland, 29, who is normally based in Berlin but who has been reporting from the Iraqi capital since Dec. 15, began a harrowing overland escape to Jordan about 13 hours after the aerial attacks started. His report.

When the first bombs dropped on Baghdad in the early hours of Jan. 17, it caught the foreign journalists at the Al Rashid Hotel by surprise. In a split second, when the first bursts of tracer bullets lit the sky, we knew that diplomacy had truly run its course and that there would be no turning back. It was 2:28 a.m. We knew that, several hours earlier, White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater had advised all journalists to leave Baghdad immediately. By then, it was better to sit tight and hope for a delay. But there was none.

I was on the telephone when the war started with the sound of tracers going up some 500 m to the west. It sounded like the Fourth of July, but a hundred times as loud. I stared in fascination for several seconds, then grabbed my personal gear from the room and headed for the hotel's bomb shelter. Behind and ahead of

me on the stairs were many of my colleagues from print and TV. In the shelter a short while later, I saw Bernard Shaw, CNN's chief anchorman in Baghdad. Shaw, whose colleagues Peter Arnett and John Holliman remained in their ninth-floor room broadcasting audio reports to viewers around the world, looked distressed. "This is not what anyone expected," he said, his voice shaking. "This is really bad."

A few hours earlier, as the UN deadline for Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait passed without incident, he had told CNN viewers: "Personally, I don't think there will be a war." Shaw spoke for many journalists who were convinced that the United States would give Saddam Hussein another day to weigh the consequences of his stubbornness—and that, in any case, Baghdad would not be targeted in the first raids.

Fear: The lights in the hotel went off numerous times, as did the air-filtration system. We could hear the dull thud of bombs hitting close to the hotel, and the chatter of anti-aircraft fire. After several fear-filled hours in the shelter, a 1,250-square-foot room that accommodated about 85 people, some disturbing thoughts ran through my mind: Has Israel been dragged into the war? Will it go chemical or nuclear? Will I die not seeing the sunlight again?

We finally managed to get one of the short-wave radios working, and crowded around to hear President George Bush say that the war

THE 'DESERT CATS'

CANADIAN PILOTS' CRITICAL ROLE

Canadian Forces fighter pilot Capt. Christopher Sponder was flying protective cover over coalition warships in the northern Gulf early last Thursday local time when the flash of Tomahawk cruise missiles, launched from U.S. vessels, signalled to him that the offensive against Iraq had begun. As the 34-year-old Sponder later recalled, he felt a pang of regret as he peered into the dark from the cockpit of his CF-18 jet. "I like playing forward in hockey," said the native of Cambridge, Ont., "so I would have preferred an offensive role." He would soon get his preference. As Operation Desert Shield turned into Operation Desert Storm last week, the Canadian government formally altered the mission of its 24 CF-18 fighters based in the Gulf emirate of Qatar. And the military announced that the "Desert Cats," as the squadron calls itself, would begin to escort coalition bombers and ground-attack planes on raids into Iraq and occupied Kuwait.

The Desert Cats' name came from the badges of the two squadrons whose members make up the Canadian Gulf air force. Pilots of 416 Squadron, based at Cold Lake, Alta., wear a lynx, and pilots of 439 Squadron from Baden-Söllingen, Germany, wear a tiger. In the five weeks that the two squadrons have been together, they have "melded well," said Col. Romeo Lalonde, the Desert Cats' commanding officer. And although the outbreak of hostilities made their mission more dangerous, Lalonde expressed confidence in the pilots' skills and the advanced technology of their planes.

Escort: Not all the Desert Cats' 36 pilots seemed frustrated with their defensive role. Capt. Robert Beardsley, 31, of Red Deer, Alta., who was on patrol at the same time as Sponder, agreed that it was "very exciting" to see warplanes streaking towards their targets. But he added, "I didn't feel that my task was any less important than theirs."

For his part, Lalonde, 50, of Penetanguishene, Ont., pointed out that the squadron would continue to carry out its original mission, while also being available for escort and sweep operations. The Canadian CF-18s, each armed with two Sidewinder missiles, four Sparrow missiles and a nose cannon, would fly ahead of

the other coalition planes that they are escorting to clear the way of enemy aircraft. But Lalonde, a 28-year air force veteran, added: "Our primary mission remains defensive."

Because Qatar is more than 480 km from the nearest Iraqi airfield, and is well defended,

guarded perimeter of the main Qatari military airbase. For extra safety, 100 members of the Royal 22nd Regiment, the celebrated Van Doos, guard the Canadian pilots, groundcrews and aircraft, which include a Boeing 707 air-to-air refueling plane as well as the CF-18s.

But Canada Dry One is clearly more vulnerable. It is located in the desert on the outskirts of Doha, the Qatari capital, in what used to be a camp for immigrant workers. Last week, the Van Doos strengthened its defences. Said public relations officer Lieut. James Robertson: "We now have complete perimeter security."

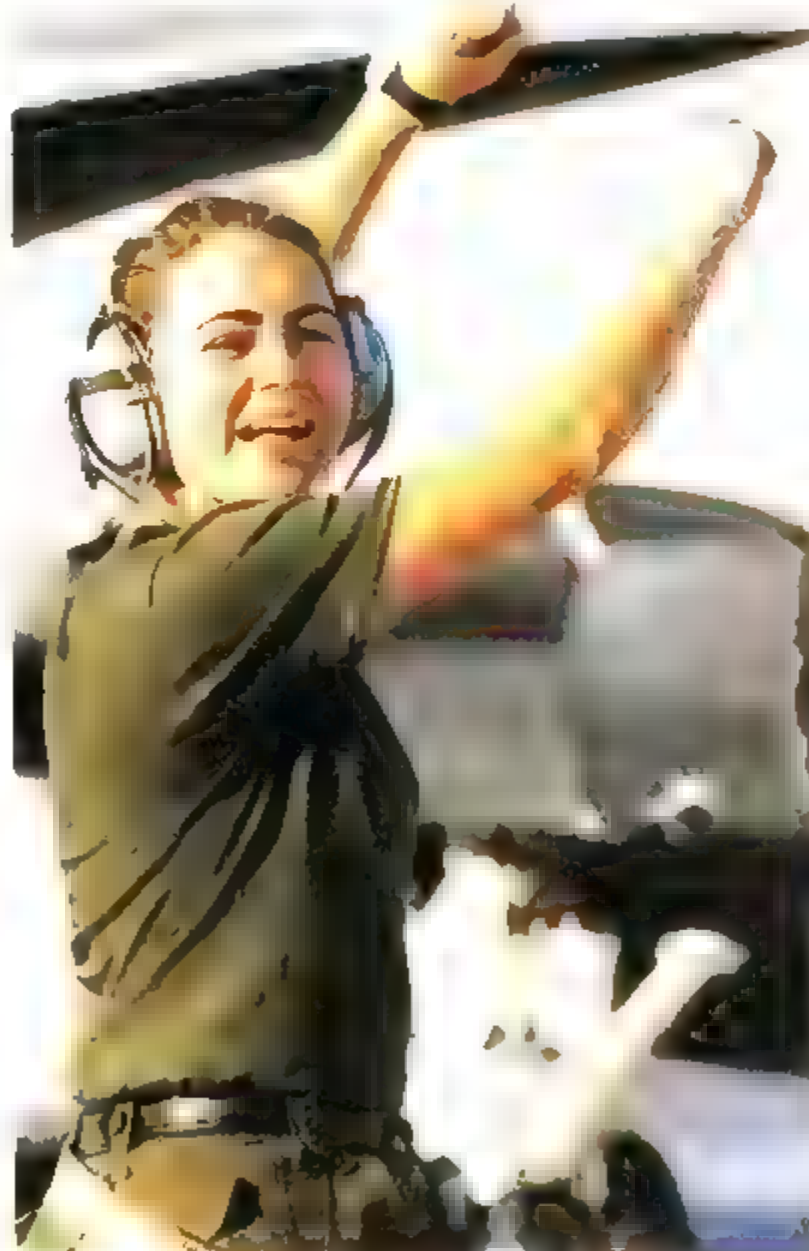
Stealth: Meanwhile, the temporary Canadian Embassy in Doha is keeping a low profile. No identifying flag adorns the suburban villa that has served as Ottawa's diplomatic mission since the embassy in Kuwait, which covered the smaller Gulf states, closed after the Iraqi invasion. "Yes, it's hard to find us here—we're the Stealth Embassy," said Stephen Bennett, Ottawa's chief diplomatic representative in Doha.

Bennett, 33, keeps an eye on the welfare of the approximately 100 Canadian civilians, mainly oil technicians and their wives, who remain in Qatar, and has issued them gas masks. But like Lalonde, Bennett says that he has little concern about the Iraqi military threat. As for terrorism, he said that Qatari internal security is "very tight." The emirate expelled 2,000 Palestinians at the start of the crisis. About 8,000 more left voluntarily. "It's a small town," said Bennett of Doha (population 217,000). "The authorities know who and where everyone is."

Danger: In effect, the only Canadians in Qatar who seem to face appreciable danger are the CF-18 pilots. And the groundcrews who look after the planes are acutely conscious of that fact. "I

admire what the pilots are doing and I do feel concerned for them," said Pte. Angela Cowan, 23, of Montreal. Cowan, who maintains the jets' flight-control and inertial navigation systems, added: "It would be a terrible shock if we lost one." But the chances of that happening were clearly higher after the shooting war began—and after Ottawa authorized the Desert Cats to fly offensive missions over Iraq.

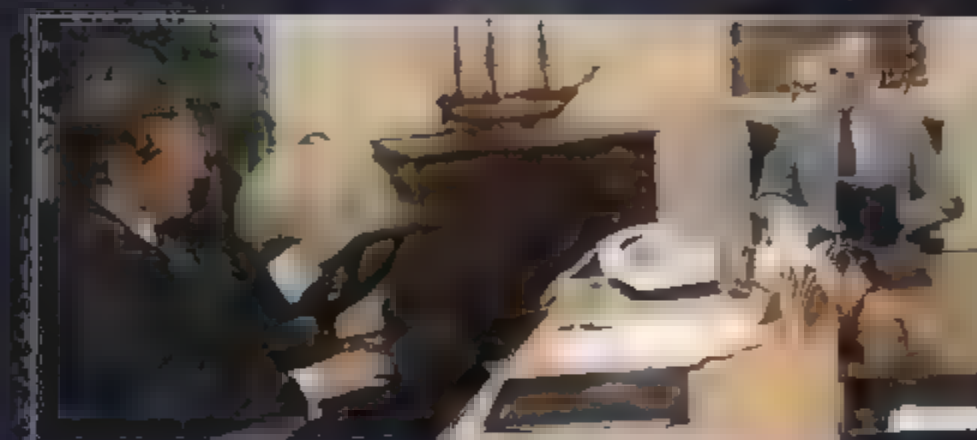
JOHN BIERMAN in Doha



Cowan: 'a terrible shock if we lost one'

CHRISTIAN COULOMBE/DND

Portrait of Two Leaders.



President George Bush and Maclean's Editor Kevin Doyle



Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and Maclean's Editor Kevin Doyle

While preparing the recent "Portrait of Two Nations" issue, a comprehensive look at current Canadian and American attitudes, Maclean's was granted exclusive interviews in Ottawa and Washington with Prime Minister Mulroney and President Bush—just 24 hours apart.

The leaders revealed mutual international concerns and the implications for Canadians. Their comments were found only in Canada's Weekly Newsmagazine.

Maclean's

THE WELL-INFORMED CHOICE

THE ROOTS OF BATTLE

OLD ARAB RIVALRIES FUEL THE CRISIS

For many Westerners, the current Persian Gulf crisis began on Aug. 2, 1990, when Iraqi troops invaded neighboring Kuwait. But in fact, the conflict is rooted in the ancient, entangled rivalries of Arab history. When the once-vast Arab Empire of the seventh to the 13th centuries began to crumble under successive onslaughts by Christian Crusaders, the Mongols and the Ottoman Turks, Arab unity disintegrated. And following the collapse of the Ottoman Empire at the end of the First World War, European powers established new borders in the Middle East that left the Arab world even more bitterly, and artificially, divided.

When Iraqi troops invaded Kuwait, they crossed a border that Sir Percy Zachariah Cox, Britain's high commissioner in Baghdad, arbitrarily defined in 1922. With a red pencil on a map, Cox delineated the boundaries of Iraq, Kuwait and what is now Saudi Arabia within what was then a British mandate. In 1961, when Britain granted independence to Kuwait—which was once part of an Ottoman province, with its headquarters in Iraq—Baghdad claimed sovereignty over the new state. Britain, and later the Arab League, dispatched troops to defend Kuwait, and the Iraqi threat soon subsided. But tensions arose again in 1973 when Iraqi President Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr, Saddam Hussein's predecessor, sent troops to occupy a Kuwaiti outpost on the common 160-km border. Baghdad backed down when Saudi Arabia rushed soldiers to Kuwait's defence, but Iraqi claims to Bubiyan Island in the Persian Gulf remained a source of friction between the two Middle Eastern states.

Some key developments in the current crisis:

July 17, 1990: Iraq threatens to use force against Arab oil producers who drive prices down by exceeding their OPEC quotas. The next day, Iraq accuses Kuwait of stealing \$2.8 billion worth of oil over the past decade from the disputed Rumaila oilfield along the common border. It also demands that Kuwait forgive an estimated \$12 billion in loans given to Baghdad during the Iran-Iraq war.

July 25: April Glaspie, U.S. ambassador to Iraq, urges Hussein to settle his differences with Kuwait peacefully, but adds: "We have no opinion on the Arab-Arab conflicts, like your border disagreement with Kuwait."

Aug. 2: Iraq invades Kuwait. The UN Security Council votes 14 to 0 to condemn the occupation.

Aug. 6: The Security Council votes 13 to 0 to impose a stringent trade embargo on Iraq.

Aug. 7: The United States announces major troop deployments to the Gulf.

Aug. 10: Twelve Arab leaders agree to send a pan-Arab force to protect Saudi Arabia. Ottawa commits three warships to the anti-Iraq coalition.

in anything of that nature."

Nov. 8: Bush orders more than 100,000 extra troops to the Gulf. By year's end, nearly 400,000 U.S. troops are in the region.

Nov. 22: Bush spends Thanksgiving Day with U.S. forces in the Gulf.

Nov. 29: The Security Council votes 12 to 2 (Yemen and Cuba opposing), with one abstention (China), authorizing member states to use force unless Iraq leaves Kuwait by Jan. 15.

Dec. 1: Baghdad accepts Bush's proposal for talks but says that it wants to discuss several issues, including the Palestinian problem.

Dec. 6: Saddam Hussein orders the release of all foreign hostages in Iraq and Kuwait.



Iraqi tanks in Kuwait: European powers established new borders in the Middle East

tion, which eventually involves 31 nations.

Aug. 15: President George Bush says that the U.S. buildup is meant not just to defend Saudi Arabia, but to force Iraqi troops out of Kuwait.

Aug. 16: Iraq orders Britons and Americans in Kuwait to report to hotels or be rounded up.

Aug. 28: Iraq declares Kuwait its 19th province and orders the release of all Western women and children hostages.

Sept. 14: Ottawa says that it will send a squadron of CF-18 warplanes to the Gulf.

Sept. 23: Iraq threatens to attack Israel.

Oct. 7: Israel begins distributing gas masks to civilians.

Nov. 1: Commenting on what he calls Iraqi "brutality" against Kuwaiti citizens, Bush says: "I don't believe that Adolf Hitler ever partici-

Dec. 22: Iraq says that it will use chemical weapons if attacked.

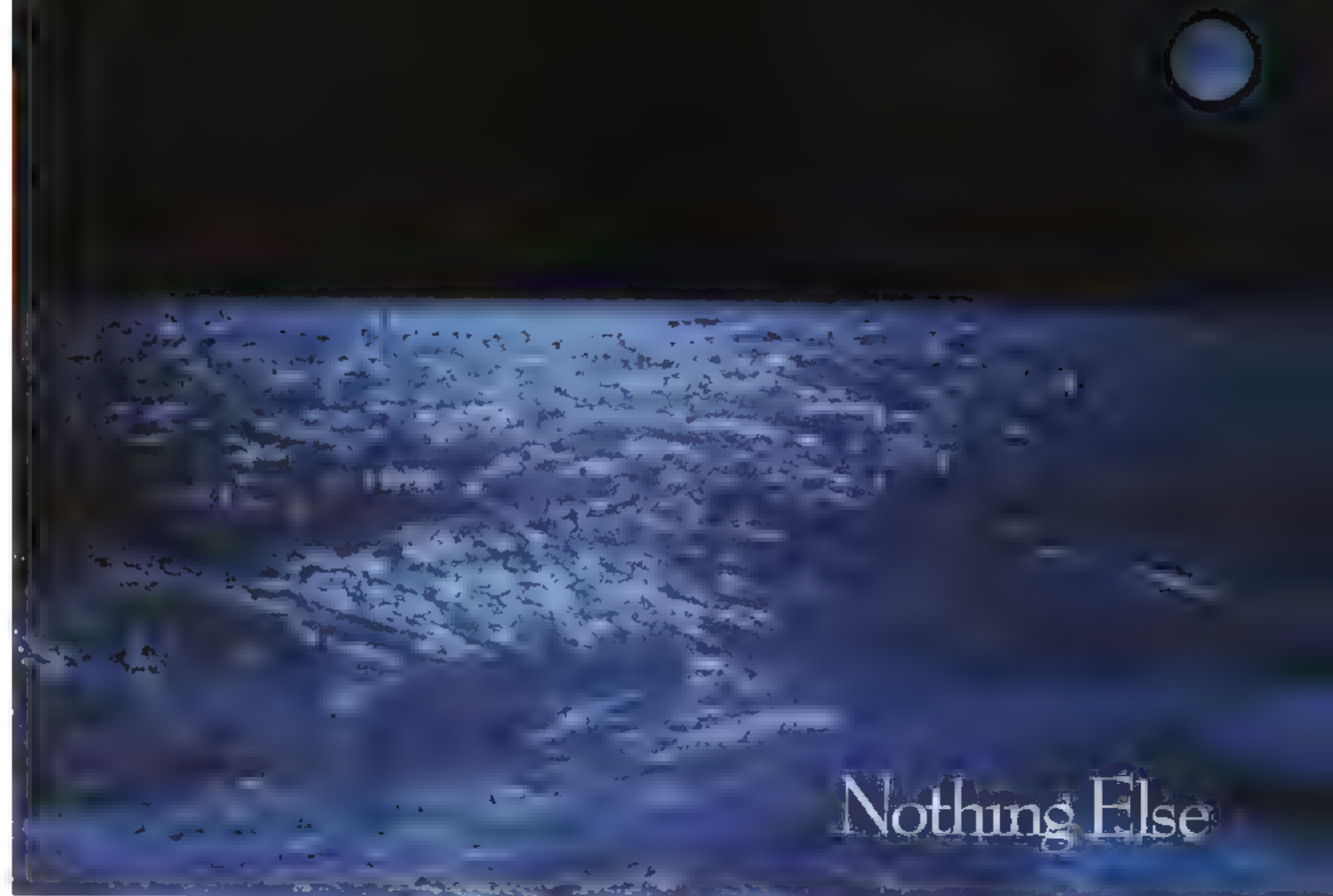
Jan. 9, 1991: Geneva talks between U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz end in failure. Bush presses Congress to endorse the use of force against Iraq.

Jan. 12: A majority in Congress supports Bush.

Jan. 13: UN Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar meets Hussein in Baghdad but fails to persuade him to leave Kuwait.

Jan. 15: The UN makes an eleventh-hour appeal to Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait.

Jan. 16: White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater says that war "could begin at any time." Shortly after 6:30 p.m. EST, U.S.-led coalition forces attack Baghdad.



A CALL TO ARMS

CANADIANS DEBATE THEIR BATTLE ROLE

On the final day before Canada went to war, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney had just left his office on Parliament Hill when a call arrived from President George Bush. A parliamentary telephone operator transferred Bush's call to Mulroney's cellular phone in his limousine. But the Prime Minister, guessing correctly the reason for the call and fearing a security leak, told the White House operator that he would call Bush back quickly. The car sped to 24 Sussex Drive, where he called Bush on a secure phone. Then, the President told him that forces from the United States and other countries were about to begin an air assault on Iraq. By the time Mulroney returned to Parliament Hill later that night for an emergency cabinet meeting, television was carrying the first reports of the bombings. Inside the cabinet room, the atmosphere was sombre but almost serene. Throughout weeks of tension over the Persian Gulf crisis, said one participant, "it had been hard waiting. But once the whistle went, there was a little less nervousness and a lot more calm."

Critical: The hour-long meeting dealt with only one critical piece of government business—war. When it ended, Mulroney announced to the Commons that Canada had taken on an expanded and potentially more deadly role with the coalition of forces massed against Iraq. In response to a request from Gen. John de Chastelain, the Canadian Forces' chief of defence staff, the government gave permission for Canada's 24 CF-18 fighter jets on duty in the Gulf to escort other coalition planes in attack missions over Iraq and Kuwait. And at midday Saturday, a forces' spokesman said that Canadian flyers would go into combat for the first time in that role within 24 hours.

The new mandate had the potential to involve Canada even more deeply in the war. But in the moments after the first bombs began to fall on Baghdad, the opposition parties muted their vigorous criticisms of the use of force to

drive Iraq out of Kuwait. Liberal Leader Jean Chrétien, who had earlier called for Canadian troops to withdraw from the Gulf if fighting began, said after the bombing started. "Now, we must support our brothers and sisters fighting for peace."

But that consensus may prove to be fragile. For one thing, Chrétien's late-arriving pledge of support was at least partly overshadowed by former party leader and prime minister John

Turner's decision on the eve of war to break Liberal ranks and support the government. For her part, New Democratic Party Leader Audrey McLaughlin said after the initial attacks that "our hearts are with the troops." But she added that her party would continue to oppose Canada's participation in the war. And on Friday, NDP defence critic John Brewin called for a ceasefire in the Gulf, to allow an opening for negotiations with Iraq.

But as the Gulf conflict deepened, Mulroney's determination appeared only to increase. "Canada will not sit idly by," he declared after Iraqi Scud missiles exploded in Israel Friday morning local time. "The unprovoked attack on Israel constitutes a very evil act by a diabolical man." At the same time, Tory advisers said that they were worried that a protracted war would create additional antipathy towards the already unpopular Mulroney government. The challenge for the Prime Minister, his advisers noted, was to demonstrate that Canadian interests are genuinely at stake in the distant conflict. Chrétien pressed that issue repeatedly as the leaders debated the crisis during the hours leading up to war. Demanded Chrétien: "What are our national interests in this war?" Mulroney argued that Canada's security is inexorably tied to the strength of the United Nations. He added that UN authority would suffer irreparable damage if the alliance allowed Hussein to flout UN resolutions demanding Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait.

Mulroney received unexpected support when Turner dramatically and surprisingly broke from the party's position. Turner, who has not attended a Liberal party caucus meeting since June and who is seldom in the Commons, clearly stunned his colleagues with his impassioned speech in support of the government's apparent willingness—even before war erupted—to commit Canadian forces to an assault on Iraq. Declared Turner: "The whole history and tradition and commitment of the party to which I belonged for 35 years has been in support of the United Nations." He added, "This is a crucial test for the United Nations, and Canada must support it."

'Euphoric': The speech earned Turner a standing ovation from Tories, led by Mulroney—and a reaction ranging from incredulity to outrage among Liberals. Said Toronto MP John Nunziata: "If he had any respect and support left in the Liberal party, it went out the window." But the speech clearly did not represent a spontaneous conversion to the Tory viewpoint. Turner had rehearsed his statement earlier in the week and confided his intentions to several close Liberal colleagues, including House leader Herbert Gray. After the speech, one longtime friend described Turner as "euphoric."

But, for the most part, the tone of the war debate was heartfelt and largely free of partisanship. It created deep anguish among MPs of



Chrétien: 'we must support our brothers and sisters'



Anti-war protesters in Ottawa: Tory advisers fear that a protracted war could stir voter anger

all parties. Mulroney, addressing his caucus for the first time after the phone call from Bush, climbed onto a table in order to be seen and heard more easily, then spoke in low, muted tones for about eight minutes. Said one participant: "There was no other sound in the room." And on both sides of the Commons, MPs faced their moral quandary squarely. Two of them—Quebec New Democrat Philip Edmonston and New Brunswick Tory Greg Thompson—have sons who are members of U.S. forces stationed

in the Gulf. In the end, Edmonston condemned military intervention, while Thompson supported the government. For his part, British Columbia MP Robert Wenman was the lone Tory to challenge his party publicly. Declared the MP: "Would you be prepared to send your son or daughter to die a sandy death in the windblown deserts?"

That question was all the more pointed at week's end, as Canadian fighters in the Gulf prepared to join the battle in earnest. Still,

the dispatch, the room remained silent after an officer read Coleman's final sentence: "Our mood here is reflective and serious as we prepare for the ultimate challenge." It was a sober postscript to a debate that touched the souls of millions of Canadians at home—and the lives of the country's troops abroad.

ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH and BRUCE WALLACE with E. KAYE FULTON, NANCY WOOD and GLEN ALLEN in Ottawa

THE ISOLATIONIST PROVINCE

As Canada's political leaders drew together last week in a show of common support for the country's troops in the Persian Gulf, the eruption of war appeared likely to aggravate divisions at home. A Gallup poll conducted early this month and released just before the war began last week found that while 42 per cent of Canadians outside of Quebec supported the country's involvement in a war against Iraq, the level dropped to only 22 per cent in Quebec. In fact, 70 per cent of Quebecers opposed the idea of Canada's entry into the war, compared with 51 per cent of other Canadians.

Sharp, divisive differences between French-Canadians and the rest of the country over participation in distant wars have arisen before. In both the First and Second World Wars, crises over conscription

threatened to tear the country apart along language lines. In both wars, many Quebecers opposed sending troops for what they considered to be mainly a foreign cause—and they felt themselves deeply betrayed when the federal governments during both conflicts imposed conscription. After instituting a draft during the First World War in 1917, the Conservatives suffered devastating losses in Quebec in the federal election later that year. A generation later, Quebecers' resistance to conscription during the Second World War, introduced for overseas service in 1944, led to fierce opposition.

The unwillingness of many Quebecers to join in earlier wars provoked anger and bitterness among English-Canadians, as well. Many of them accused Quebecers of not carrying their weight. In 1918, influential *Manitoba Free* Press editor John Diefoe called French-Canadians "the only known race of white men to quit." Most political analysts and military historians attribute Quebec's attitude to a combination of isolationism and lingering resentment

towards a military establishment associated with Britain's 1759 conquest of New France on the Plains of Abraham. As well, Stephen Harris, a defence department historian, said that, at least until it became officially bilingual in 1969, the Canadian Army was a thoroughly anglophone institution. Added Harris: "There were cases of French-Canadian recruits being told to 'speak white.'"

Still, in the short term at least, the events in the Gulf last week seemed to overshadow the national unity issue. Quebec labor leader Gérald Larose, a prominent sovereigntist, for one, expressed concerns that the war may slow the momentum of Quebec nationalism. Said Larose: "If there is a lengthy conflagration which eventually affects us at home, it could derail things." Even a matter as urgent as the debate about Canada's future became, at least temporarily, a casualty of the Gulf war.

NANCY WOOD in Ottawa

A CAUTIOUS HOME FRONT

TERRORIST ATTACKS ARE A THREAT

In Burnaby, B.C., a suburb of Vancouver, security guards at Chevron Canada's oil refinery and tanker terminal searched vans delivering supplies to tugboats. In Toronto, Wayne Brocklehurst, who maintains the federal government's emergency response plan in Ontario, handled a telephone call from a woman wondering if a 35-year-old family bomb shelter in her backyard was still useful. (He told her it was unlikely to be needed.) In Dartmouth, N.S., Ronald Corkum, the owner of Ron's Army and Navy Outfitting, sold his stock of 50 gas masks that he ordered in November and ordered 100 more. Across the country, Canadians expressed growing concern that the conflagration in the Persian Gulf would spread its terror to North America.

In fact, the Gulf war did create new challenges and responsibilities for many Canadians. For the armed forces, the crisis immediately tested their ability to resupply their units in the 6,400-miles-distant war theatre. On the civil-

ian front, a wide array of agencies, from the RCMP and the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) to immigration authorities, took precautions against the terrorist attacks promised by Iraqi President Saddam Hussein. Many businesses, and some private individuals, took similar steps. Meanwhile, in Nova Scotia, Ottawa, Toronto and London, Ont., hospitals braced to receive casualties from the Gulf. And a sense of alarm spread among residents of Iraqi origin in Canada—many of whom had fled from the harsh regime in Baghdad—that they would become suspected subversives.

Fighters: As the deadline for Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait approached, military commanders increased staffing at the National Defence Operations Centre, a windowless, cluttered and highly classified room in the department of national defence headquarters in Ottawa. Inside the soundproof and blast-protected computerized room on the building's 12th floor, military specialists monitored the

progress of the distant crisis, plotting the positions of Canadian units in the Gulf on a giant wall map.

The resupply of Canadian forces in the Gulf was under way even as the clock ticked down to war. At the Canadian Forces base in Trenton, Ont., 140 km east of Toronto, a military Boeing 707 took off with 60,000 lb. of supplies and 22 replacement troops for Canada's two Gulf bases in the states of Qatar and Bahrain. The cargo included spare parts destined for the country's 24 CF-18 jet fighters stationed in the Gulf. And among the troops aboard the resupply flight was Cpl. Carrie Moran, 22, a Teletype operator who acknowledged her concern about flying into the war zone. Said Moran, "We would be fools not to be scared." Then, on Saturday, military spokesmen announced that a further six CF-18s were being ordered from bases in Canada to Germany, where they would be available

to replace any jets lost in the fighting in the Gulf.

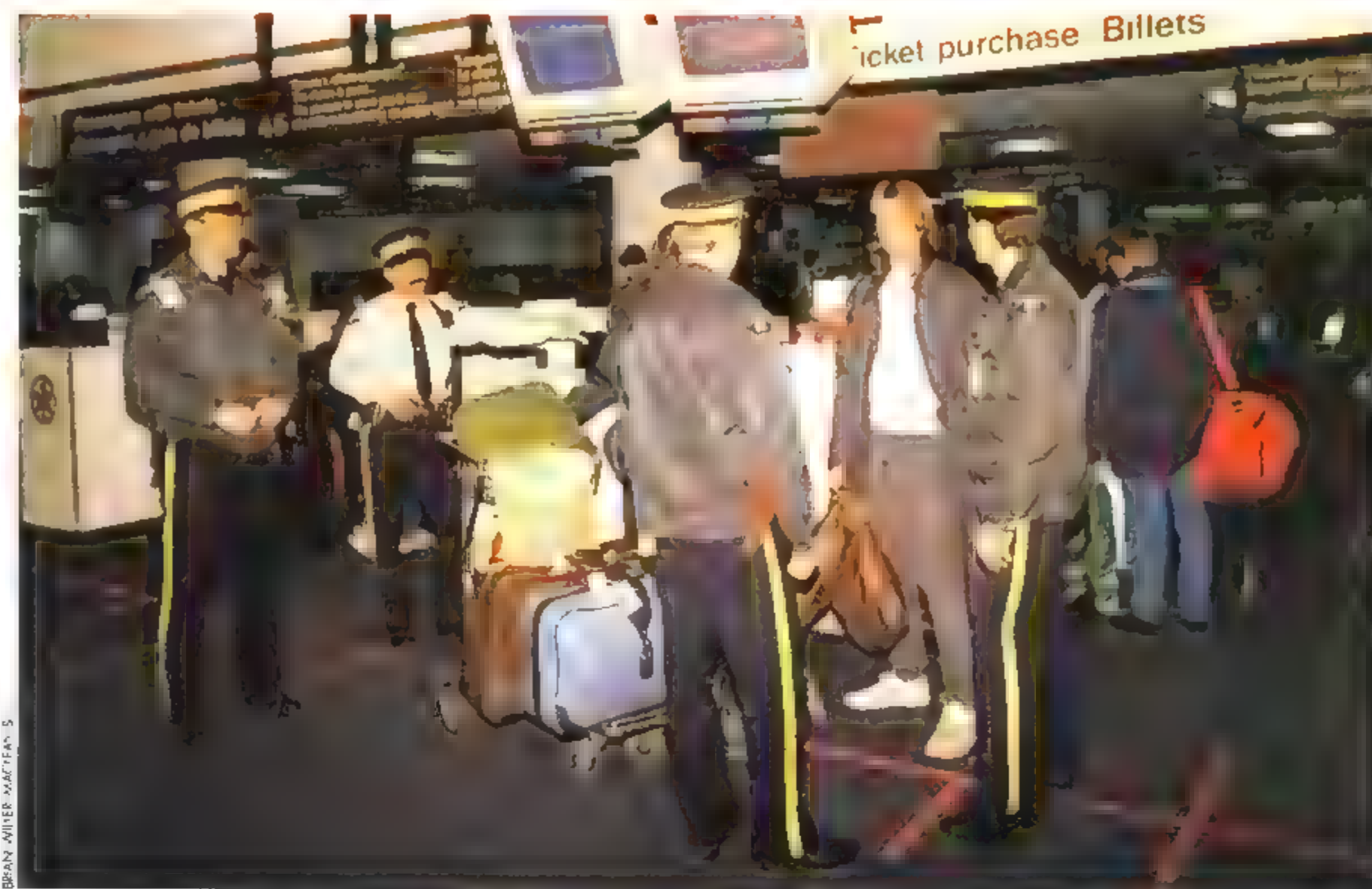
When the war began, the concern over terrorist attacks increased sharply. Most experts played down the likelihood of terrorism, perhaps partly to prevent panic. Alex Morrison, the executive director of the Toronto-based Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies, for one, discounted the danger. He claimed that Iraqi agents would have to carry equipment and explosives from the Middle East to Canada in order to carry out a successful attack in this country. Added Morrison: "The media have exaggerated the threat in order to justify a story."

But that did not prevent other experts in the field from speculating on where terrorists might strike. Leslie Green, who teaches international law at the University of Alberta and specializes in the study of international terrorism, said that some military bases could be prime targets for terrorists. He added, "They might reason that 'CF-18s come out of Cold Lake, [Alta.] so we'll disable Cold Lake.'" He added that airlines, airports, transportation links, power-generating plants and energy supplies could be other possible targets. And in Vancouver, Salim Jiwa, an author and journalist with close ties to members of both the Arab and intelligence communities in Canada, said that it would be easy for Hussein to find people to launch terrorist attacks against Canada or the United States. Said Jiwa: "We have in this country Islamic groups, predominantly in the Toronto and Montreal areas, that are capable of being recruited to launch terrorist attacks."

Security services clearly took the threat seriously. Tighter security checks were instituted at airports, prompting Air Canada to warn some passengers to arrive up to three hours before overseas flights. In Ottawa, Raymond Boisvert, an official with CSIS, acknowledged that the agency responsible for detecting and combating terrorists in Canada was "considerably more active in our investigations than usual." For its part, the RCMP ordered its National Emergency Operation Centre in Ottawa and 13 regional centres across the country into action early last week. Those centres act as clearing houses for security information—and command posts for police responses. They were last opened during the Mohawk Indian crisis last summer.

Evacuated: There were other indications of official concern as well. In Ottawa, police briefly evacuated one tower of the National Defence headquarters following a telephoned bomb threat, and security guards intensified their checks on media and other passers at entrances to the Parliament Buildings. Around Parliament Hill, city work crews welded road manhole covers shut. Ontario Provincial Police prepared a standby plan for the evacuation of the village of Rockcliffe, a plush neighborhood of Ottawa where dozens of diplomatic residences are located.

The business community also took extra safety measures. Officials at the Toronto Stock Exchange, in the heart of the city's financial district, closed their visitors gallery, which normally is open for the public to look out over the



RCMP officers questioning airline passenger in Toronto: experts took a low-key approach to the danger of terrorism

trading floor. And in Burnaby, Chevron officials placed a tight security net around their oil refinery operations, searching all non-company vehicles entering the compound. Said Chevron spokesman Jackie Osborne: "It seemed wise at this time to take extra precautions."

Many Canadians clearly reached the same conclusion. While concerned Nova Scotians bought gas masks, Ontarians deluged Brocklehurst, the regional director for Emergency Preparedness Canada (EPC) in that province, with requests for instructions for building bomb shelters. Other callers asked about rumors that the federal agency might invoke its sweeping powers under the Emergencies Act—the 1988 replacement for the War Measures Act. Said Brocklehurst: "One radio station carried a story about rationing. The next day, all the calls were about rationing." EPC officials said that there were no plans to invoke rationing powers as a result of the war, although the federal energy department instituted a program of voluntary cutbacks that was intended to reduce the country's consumption of gasoline by about seven per cent.

The stunning coalition at-

tack on Hussein's forces and the heightened focus on Iraqi-sponsored terrorism left one group in Canada particularly nervous. Roughly 7,000 residents are either Iraqi-born Canadian citizens or refugees from Hussein's authoritarian regime. And late last week, as children scampered around the carpeted prayer room at Montreal's Iraqi Community Centre, a group of men chatted uneasily with *Maclean's* about the violence unleashed on their homeland. "I wish I was there now," said Ali Ruhda, a 34-year-old native of Najaf, 160 km south of Baghdad, who came to Canada in 1985. Ruhda said that he was deeply worried about his three brothers, who are all in the Iraqi army, and his parents, who still live in Najaf. Said Ali Amur, 37: "We are concerned about our people. We do not want the international force to kill them."

Ruhda: brothers in Iraq



Discrimination: CSIS's increased activity alarmed Iraqi-Canadians. After agents questioned some Arab students at the University of Calgary, Michael Moussallem, who is on the executive of the campus students union, declared: "It is a form of discrimination. They interned the Japanese in 1941. What are they going to do in

1991—intern the Arabs?" Other Iraqi-Canadians in Toronto and Montreal expressed similar concerns, even though Prime Minister Brian Mulroney declared in the Commons that the Iraqi community would not be interned or subjected to illegal surveillance. Said Mulroney: "That lesson, fortunately, has been learned."

Still, immigration officials announced that anyone arriving at a Canadian border point carrying an Iraqi or Kuwaiti visa would automatically be interrogated. As well, a spokesman for the immigration department said that officials in Canadian embassies abroad had been instructed to defer consideration of all new requests for Canadian entry visas from Iraqi or Palestinian passport holders.

Despite the apprehension about a possible terrorist attack, it seemed more likely that any Canadian casualties would occur in the battle itself. Defence and federal Health and Welfare officials alerted hospitals in Nova Scotia and Ontario to be prepared to receive patients evacuated from the war zone. And the Canadian Red Cross announced that it had made plans to deliver blood to Canadian troops in the Gulf, if it was needed. After the first few days of fighting, the systems were in place to deal with events—at a distant battle site or at home—that Canadians hoped would not happen.

GREG W. TAYLOR with **HAL QUINN** in Vancouver, **JOHN HOWSE** in Calgary, **PAUL KAIHLA** at CFB Trenton, **BRIAN BERGMAN** in Toronto, **JOHN DEMONT** in Halifax and correspondents' reports



Welding a manhole near Parliament: avoiding risk

**"We're making important breakthroughs
in understanding the nature of pain.
And a big factor is the funding that
pharmaceutical companies provide."**

*Helen Bouman,
neurological researcher,
University of Calgary*



Helen Bouman's field of research is nerve cells and the way they transmit messages.

"Some years ago, it was found that the body has its own naturally occurring pain killers or opiates, called endorphins. This had enormous implications for pain relief: medicines could be designed to 'suit' particular opiates, and be targeted on them. This affects all areas of neurological research, including my own. I'm using inhibitors to turn neurons on and off, to see what they do. This work is revealing the secrets of both pain and pleasure."

What researchers in this field are embarked on is a total re-mapping of the brain – an exercise that will clearly take a great deal of time and money. Helen Bouman received a research award from the Health Research Foundation of the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association of Canada (PMAC). This award was co-funded with the Medical Research Council of Canada under the University-Industry Program.

"As a graduate student starting out, it wasn't easy getting funded. It isn't for anyone. So the kind of support we get from the pharmaceutical companies is very

important. It helps keep basic research like mine alive. And that's where the search for cures *has* to begin – with basic, detailed research."

This area of study could eventually lead to treatment of conditions like Alzheimer's Disease and spinal paralysis. If so, it would join a long list of landmark therapeutic breakthroughs achieved by the pharmaceutical industry.

In fact, more than 90% of modern prescription medicines came from research undertaken by the innovative pharmaceutical companies.

Exactly who are the "innovative" pharmaceutical companies? We're the people who develop, manufacture and sell original *brand-name* prescription medicines. And each year, we invest hundreds of millions of dollars in our own research programs,

as well as in grants and fellowships to researchers at universities across Canada.

So that every time a prescription is filled with an original brand-name medicine, another contribution is made to future research.

Research that could perhaps save a child from leukemia. Or give hope to an Alzheimer's patient. Or even enable a paraplegic to walk.

**"Funding from
these companies
is very important.
They're the real
players in basic
pharmaceutical
research."**

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Oil traders in New York City: 'the air was finally let out of the balloon'

WAR VICTORIES, MARKET HOPES

OPTIMISM PROPELS STOCKS AND OIL

New York City oil broker Thomas Bentz spent most of last week monitoring several flickering computer screens, a television set and at least six telephones in his 20th-floor office near the southern tip of Manhattan. Since Iraqi President Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait last Aug. 2, Bentz and hundreds of other oil traders in financial centres around the world have been working frantically to predict the future price of crude oil—fearing that a full-scale war could send prices skyrocketing to \$60 (U.S.) a barrel or higher. Bentz was at home on the night that the U.S.-led coalition forces launched an air attack on key military targets in Iraq and Kuwait. But by the time he arrived at work at 7 a.m. the following morning, oil prices were plummeting, a sure sign of optimism among traders that the war would not disrupt oil supplies from the Middle East. "Tensions were building and building for weeks," Bentz said. "It felt like the air was finally let out of the balloon."

A similar—and surprising—sense of relief swept financial markets around the world in the

first 24 hours after the attack. Business leaders, investors and economists generally agreed that a swift victory for the multinational coalition would result in lower prices for gasoline and heating oil, giving consumers and industry more money to spend on other goods. Less tangibly, but equally important, they said that a speedy victory could dispel a dark cloud of pessimism that has hung over Canada, the United States and their major trading partners since last August. Declared Edward Yardeni, chief economist with the New York-based investment firm Prudential-Bache Securities Inc.: "The economy could get a tremendous boost if this war comes to a successful resolution quickly."

Panic: Last week's sudden optimism contradicted earlier predictions that the outbreak of war would trigger a wave of panic among investors, driving stock prices down and forcing oil prices up. Declared Finance Minister Michael Wilson on the morning after the initial bombing raids: "Markets have done what they tend to do from time to time—confound the experts." Wilson added that the economic con-

sequences of war in the Persian Gulf could turn out to be far less than earlier feared. But he cautioned that the ultimate impact of the conflict on the recessionary economies of Canada and the United States would depend on how the war progressed and how quickly it ended.

In the immediate aftermath of last week's assault, however, most investors appeared confident of an early victory over Iraq. In New York on Thursday, the Dow Jones industrial average of 30 stocks shot up by more than 114 points to close at 2,623—its biggest one-day gain in three years. On Friday, stocks rose again in less frenetic trading, and the Dow Jones closed the week at 2,646. Markets in Tokyo, London and Toronto were also buoyed by investor optimism.

The Toronto market climbed by 45 points over two days of warfare, closing the week at 3,210.

But it was the price of oil that fluctuated most wildly last week. Early in the week, as the UN deadline neared, anxious traders bid up the price of a barrel of the benchmark West Texas intermediate crude by \$4.71, to \$32. "This market is like a cricket dancing on a hotplate," said Peter Beutel, an energy analyst for Hoboken, N.J.-based Pegasus Econometrics Group Inc. Beutel added: "There is a psychological fear something dreadful could happen to oil production in the event of war."

Jitters: Soon after the fighting began, however, most oil traders appeared to cast aside those concerns. The consensus among analysts was that U.S. warplanes had weakened, or perhaps even eliminated, Iraq's ability to launch strikes against large oilfields and pipelines in Saudi Arabia, the world's largest oil exporter. As a result, oil prices dropped by \$10.56, to \$21.44—the largest one-day drop in history. In a further attempt to calm jittery traders and avert hoarding by large commercial buyers, U.S. Energy Secretary James Watkins announced that Washington will sell more than 33 million of its 586 million barrels of oil from its reserves over a 30-day period.

In fact, most analysts say that the increase in the price of oil since Iraq's invasion of Kuwait last August was a result mainly of psychological pressures rather than any real shortfall in supply. Declared Richard Carl, an energy analyst with Toronto-based investment dealer Loewen Ondaatje McCutcheon & Co. Ltd.: "There is more oil out there than we ever expected." For his part, Charles Shultz, president and chief executive officer of Gulf Canada Resources Ltd. of Calgary, said that he expected crude-oil prices to fall to below \$20 a barrel once the Middle East conflict is resolved. He added: "The fact is that there is no shortage of

oil, even with Kuwait and Iraq out of business since Aug. 2." The main reason, Saudi Arabia has stepped up production to replace oil formerly exported by Iraq and Kuwait.

With the spectre of a widespread and bloody war appearing to recede, most economists also predicted that there would be a sudden post-war surge in consumer confidence and spending. That, in turn, could hasten North America's recovery from the recession. "If the war is short, consumer confidence will rebound," said economist Carl Beigie of McLean McCarthy Ltd., a Toronto-based investment firm. Beigie added that consumer confidence would probably remain at current levels if war is prolonged.

Cut: Lower oil prices might also ease the pressure on interest rates, reduce the cost of mortgages and make it easier for businesses to borrow money for expansion. For months, Bank of Canada governor John Crow has been keeping rates high to fight inflation, in part because of concerns about rising oil prices. But last week, most major Canadian banks cut their prime rate—a benchmark for other loan rates—by half a percentage point to 12.25 per cent, its lowest level in two years. Some banks and trust companies also cut mortgage rates by a quarter- to a half-percentage point to 12 per cent for most terms.

Still, some experts caution that Canada's economy is so weak that even a postwar surge in consumer spending would do little to counteract the recession. Sherry Cooper, chief

economist at the Toronto-based investment dealer Burns Fry Ltd., for one, cautioned that any buying spree will likely be brief. Regardless of the duration of the Gulf crisis, she added, Canada's unemployment rate will likely rise to more than 10 per cent over the next year, from its current level of 9.3 per cent.

If initial successes of U.S. and coalition air



Sayers in Iran last year: ready in case Iraqis ignite wells

forces pointed to a shorter conflict, experts noted, that could reduce the chances of large wartime profits for major North American defence contractors. Indeed, most manufacturers of large military equipment said that they have yet to reap any large new orders from the Gulf crisis. They added that they were unlikely to benefit even from a war lasting several months. The reason: the United States and its major allies still possess huge inventories of

tanks, planes and ammunition stockpiled during the Cold War. "If you lose 1,000 M-1 tanks, are you going to buy a bunch more? I don't think so," said Lawrence Korb, a former assistant U.S. defence secretary who is now a program director at the Brookings Institution in Washington. "The army will still have 7,000, which is more than enough to handle the crises that may arise in the new world order."

Moreover, many manufacturers said that it would take them at least several months to fill any new orders that did materialize. General Motors of Canada Ltd.'s London, Ont., plant, for one, supplies both the Canadian Forces and the U.S. Marine Corps with armed troop carriers. GM spokesman Dennis Lang said that while the marines are currently using an unspecified number of the vehicles in the Gulf, the factory already has enough orders for the carriers to keep it busy until early 1992. "It would take us until a year from now to begin production on a new order," he said.

Deadline: Manufacturers of gas masks, boots and other small items, however, had increased production as the Jan. 15 deadline approached. Now, many of those companies say that they may be left with unsold inventory. Ottawa-based Simunition Technol-

ogies Inc. began selling survival kits to journalists and civilians last fall. The kits, priced at \$350 each, include a gas mask and a Swedish-made protective suit. Last week, the company was packaging 100 kits each day, having just received 10,000 new gas masks from its supplier in Montreal. "People think that this was a big bonanza," said Simunition's managing director, David Luxton. "But it's tough to figure out how long the demand will last."

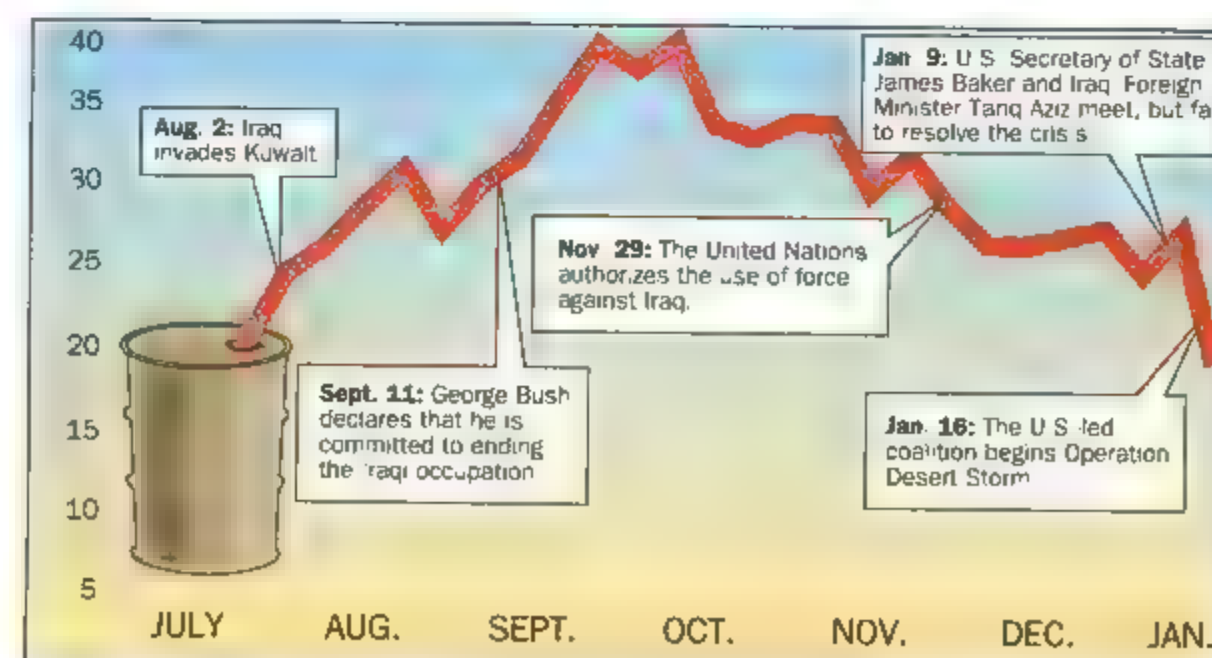
Meanwhile, some Canadian oil industry specialists say that they hope to win contracts in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait when the war is over. Robert Sayers, president of Red Deer, Alta.-based Red Flame Oilwell Fire Blowout Specialists, is one of only a handful of contractors worldwide who specialize in extinguishing and capping burning oil wells. Last year, he capped three wells in Iran that had been ignited by Iraqi troops shortly before the 1980-1988 Iran-Iraq war ended. Said Sayers: "I became an instant millionaire, thanks to the Iranians." Last week, Sayers was standing by in case his services are required again.

But amid last week's optimism, there was also a sobering note of caution. Although economic prospects appeared to be improving, citizens of the world's leading industrial nations were already paying a human price to repel Saddam Hussein's aggression.

JOHN DALY with PATRICIA CHISHOLM in Toronto

OIL'S ROLLER-COASTER RIDE

Prices in U.S. dollars per barrel of West Texas intermediate crude



SOURCES: AMERICAN PETROLEUM INSTITUTE, PLATT'S OILGRAM PRICE REPORT

DOVES OF WAR

ANTIWAR PROTESTERS DEMONSTRATE WIDELY

As the midnight EST United Nations' deadline for Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait neared last week, a group of about 1,500 people gathered outside the United States' consulate in central Toronto. Chanting "No blood for oil," they flashed peace signs and, at midnight, burned an American flag. Since Iraq's Aug. 2 invasion of Kuwait, peace organizations that had been largely dormant in the United States, Canada and Western Europe have re-emerged. Said Mary Boite, a Toronto-based representative of the Alliance for Non-Violent Action, an organization that operates in Ontario and Quebec: "The peace movement has been very fragmented. I think this war is pulling it together. People are starting to realize they have to take some responsibility."

In the days surrounding the attack by the U.S.-led coalition on Iraq, peace activists in dozens of countries demonstrated vigorously against the war. In New York City, police arrested more than 36 demonstrators at the United Nations, antiwar activists blocked entrances to federal government buildings in San Francisco, and protesters fasted for peace in a park near the White House. In London, about 5,000 people marched from Trafalgar Square to Westminster Hall. In Argentina and five other Latin American countries, crowds burned U.S. flags

and held vigils outside American embassies.

In Canada, John Mate, a Vancouver-based disarmament campaigner for the environmental and peace organization Greenpeace Canada, angrily condemned the war. He told a crowd of demonstrators on Parliament Hill that Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's decision to send

ic. Peace activists have been deluging MPs' offices with faxes and letters. And the Alliance for Non-Violent Action announced plans to block access to the External Affairs building in Ottawa this week.

A specially stationed group of volunteers from 17 countries was among the hundreds of thousands of people who demonstrated against the war. About 84 members of the Gulf Peace Team, including Muriel Sibley, a mother of five from Victoria, camped in the Iraqi desert on the Saudi Arabian border. Before she departed for Iraq, Sibley told *Maclean's* that she was willing to make "the same sacrifices for peace" as the soldiers who had to leave their families. Late last week, team spokesman Eric Hoskins said in Toronto that the fate of the campers was not known.

Meanwhile, activists predicted that if the war is prolonged, the peace movement will continue to gain strength. Nancy Pocock, an 80-year-old Toronto peace activist who also helps political refugees from other countries to settle in Canada, said that working for peace is "the most important thing there is." But she, like others, expressed sadness that that lesson had to be learned by yet another generation.

NORA UNDERWOOD with correspondents' reports



Peace rally in Vancouver: arrests and burning flags

Canadian forces to the Middle East had caused "rage" to be "unleashed across the country." He added that Greenpeace had targeted the offices of Conservative MPs across Canada for "direct action." He declined to be more specific.

THE ANGUISH OF THE YOUNG

As Canadians nervously watched the progress of war in the Middle East last week, 10-year-old Nicholas Gawdunyk said that he was frightened. The boy, who is a Grade 4 student at Bel Ayr School in Dartmouth, N.S., said that he could not stop thinking about all the people who might die in the conflict. For Gawdunyk, the threat of Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein seemed particularly close to home. "You expect people to jump out from behind a bush and point a gun at you," he said.

Experts in child behavior say that the fear of war was common among many Canadian children, who could only partly

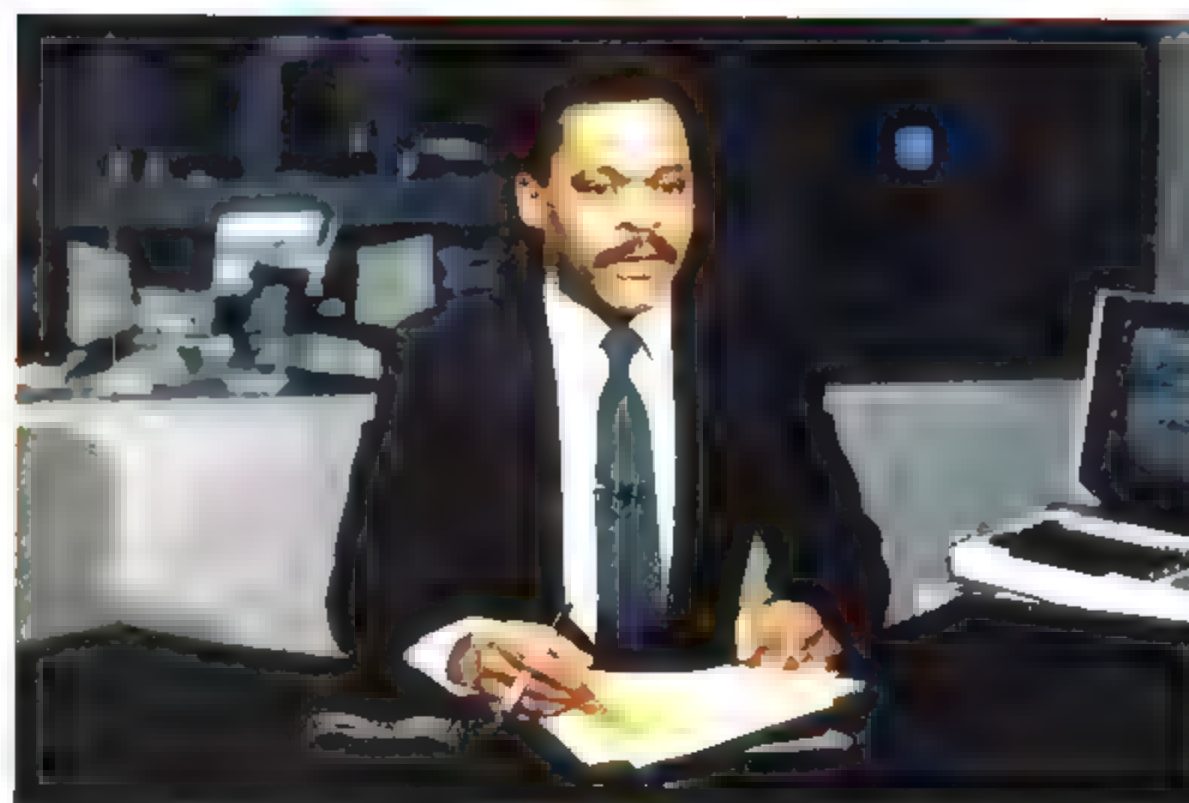
understand what was happening in the Persian Gulf region. Said Dr. Klaus Minde, director of psychiatry at the Montreal Children's Hospital: "They can cook up a scenario 100 times worse than anything that will happen." Other experts said that children—roughly 12 years old and younger—are less able to handle the news of war and, as a result, are susceptible to nightmares, crying spells or aggressive behavior. Said Jane Gordon, a professor of sociology at Mount St. Vincent University in Halifax: "Predictability and certainty are the most important things in a child's life. They panic if anything threatens to upset that."

Ten-year-old Jodie Karr of Toronto said that he dreamed of waking up to an empty house. "Then, soldiers come in to take me away," he said. For her part, Christine Zadorozny, 8, of Aylmer, Que., evoked children's morbid concept of war by reciting a playground song that

included the lines, "Let's get killed at the nuclear war, bombs and missiles and so much more." And Octay Ali Yildiz, 12, a Moslem student in Montreal, simply said: "I don't think it is funny."

Still, experts agreed that open discussion of the Gulf crisis could help to calm most children's fears. They advised parents to explain why the war was being fought and how it might affect Canada. "The biggest mistake is to assume that they're not aware," said Dr. Robert Krell, a professor of psychiatry at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver. "Let them ask a lot of questions." But as world leaders struggled to predict what might be ahead, many parents clearly found it difficult to provide all the answers.

DIANE BRADY with correspondents' reports



Shaw: 'I've never been there, but it feels like we are in the centre of hell'

THE PRIME-TIME CONFLICT

TV HAS A KEY ROLE IN THE CRISIS

Huge tracers, red staccato-like fire, the sound of thunderous explosions. It's obvious an attack is under way.

—ABC's Gary Shepard in Baghdad, reporting the beginning stages of the war there at 6:35 p.m. EST, Jan. 16

White flashes are everywhere, bullets are being fired up into the air. There is tremendous lightning in the sky.

—CNN's John Hollman, reporting from Baghdad minutes later

It would appear, based upon the comments coming in from the CNN crew in Baghdad, that the operation was successful.

—U.S. Defence Secretary Dick Cheney addressing reporters at the White House later that evening

It will be remembered as the war that began on prime-time television. The first live report of last week's initial U.S. bombing of Baghdad by correspondent Shepard aired on ABC's *World News Tonight*. Then came the compelling account of the fire storm by a three-man CNN reporting team. "I've never been there," said CNN's chief anchorman Bernard Shaw, "but it feels like we are in the centre of hell." One avid

viewer of the CNN report, beamed around the world by satellite, was U.S. President George Bush, who was seeking confirmation that his orders were being followed. In fact, the 24-hour all-news channel has been at the centre of the Persian Gulf crisis for five months. Late last week, under strict Iraqi censorship and with only three of its eight reporters assigned to Baghdad left in the Iraqi capital, Atlanta-based CNN found itself in the uncomfortable role of Saddam Hussein's semi-official outlet to the world.

The fact that, on the third day of the war, Baghdad allowed CNN alone to broadcast authorized reports underlined the degree to which Iraq recognizes the network's clout. But it also signalled the world role that CNN and its larger rivals now play in international affairs. In the glare of live television's obliging eye, the old ways of quiet diplomacy have gone out of vogue. Now, world leaders hold news conferences and issue statements, drawing almost

instant response from their counterparts and rivals. Said Arnold Amber, executive producer of TV news specials at CBC: "When the Iraqis watch George Bush giving a speech back home, live, they can see for themselves his body language and they can pick up the tone of his voice. That's much more useful than reading an official transcript." Instant global communication can, however, have its pitfalls. Last week, it took ABC anchor Peter Jennings 36 anxious minutes to "stand down" on an erroneous report from Israel that nerve gas had been used in the attack on Tel Aviv.

CNN, which has viewers in 105 countries, established itself as the pre-eminent source of information at the beginning of the war. While its competitors went off the air after the bombing, CNN continued to transmit audio reports through its \$58,000 satellite telephones, which bypass normal communication lines. But even high-tech fell in the face of Baghdad's decision—almost 17 hours after CNN began its invasion broadcasting—to order them off the air. By early Friday, CNN was transmitting again from Baghdad, but before dawn on Saturday the Iraqis ordered CNN and about 40 other international reporters to leave Baghdad for Jordan.

Rules: Last week, with more than 80 reporters and technicians in the region, CNN had the largest news-gathering contingent covering the war. The big three U.S. networks had a combined squadron of at least 200 people, while Canada's CBC TV had 25 personnel and CTV had 15. Along with radio and print reporters, the TV journalists had to adhere to limitations on what they could report. The U.S. military limited escorted trips by journalists to the front lines to those chosen for special pools, and it reviewed at least some of the resulting

reports before they were distributed to other reporters. Officials at the Pentagon released few details as operations were under way, prompting some commentators to describe the American guidelines as the most restrictive since the Korean War. In Ottawa, Defence Minister William McKnight also issued a set of rules for journalists in the region that mirrored the U.S. regulations.

Despite the restrictions, people were devouring the news—and many turned to TV. In the United States, more than 60 million households watched the first night of war,

an audience rivalled only by coverage of President John F. Kennedy's funeral in 1963. And not surprisingly, CNN, which normally attracts less than one million U.S. households, drew 10.5 million that night. As NBC anchorman Tom Brokaw observed of CNN, "It's no longer a little network."

VICTOR DWYER with correspondents' reports



The CBC's Peter Mansbridge: restrictive

RAISING STANDARDS

JURI KOOR HAS ONE OF THE TOUGHEST JOBS IN CORPORATE CANADA—SALVAGING A TROUBLED TRUST

Until recently, Juri Koor was a self-employed management consultant in Toronto, specializing in the financial services industry. But on Jan. 7, he tackled one of the toughest assignments in corporate Canada: taking over as president and chief executive officer of financially troubled Standard Trustco Ltd. Saddled with a \$230-million portfolio of bad real estate loans, the Toronto-based trust company has for months been the object of intense scrutiny by federal and provincial regulators, anxious creditors and thousands of bewildered shareholders—not to mention its 250 employees, many of whom fear for their jobs. But in spite of the pressures, Koor insisted last week that he was enjoying his new duties as head of Canada's ninth-largest trust company. Declared Koor: "I like situations where you manage a lot of change quickly."

True to form, Koor has moved swiftly to try to put Standard's tangled affairs in order. Even before his business cards were printed, the 50-year-old chief executive had overhauled the firm's senior management, opened negotiations with its creditors and met with government regulators to reassure them about the company's prospects for survival. Koor then ended months of speculation by announcing that Standard was putting its trust operations, including its network of 37 branches in seven provinces, up for sale. Together, those measures were designed to halt the damage that has been inflicted on Standard by the recent sharp decline in real estate values in many parts of Canada.

That strategy is designed in part to satisfy Standard's controlling shareholder, Roman Corp. Ltd., a beleaguered Toronto holding company that is trying to raise money to reduce its debts. But it is a tall order for a trust company that has lost its credit rating and is



Koor: "Now, it is time to get down to business"

burdened with \$230 million in nonperforming loans. Kersi Doodha, a financial services analyst with Maison Placements Inc. in Toronto, for one, says that he is skeptical that Standard can be revived. Said Doodha: "It's too late for a hero to ride in. It's a question of holding hands until the company is sold, which should have been done some time ago."

Koor's immediate task is to revitalize the ailing trust company to enhance its value for a potential buyer. "We've been over-audited, over-consulted and over-advised," said Koor,

sipping coffee from a plastic cup in his modest second-storey office in downtown Toronto. "Now, it is time to get down to business."

So far, the leading contenders to assume control of Standard appear to be Montreal Trustco Inc., Manufacturers Life Capital Corp. Inc. and National Trustco Inc. But their interest is likely to be limited to acquiring the company's healthy assets—including Standard's \$1.1-billion portfolio of healthy loans. Standard officials say that the company's nonperforming assets—loans on which interest payments are more than 90 days in arrears—will likely be transferred into a yet-to-be-created subsidiary. Standard's owners could then try to collect on the loans themselves, or sell them at a discount to a company that specializes in salvaging bad debts.

Standard's fortunes have fallen sharply during the past six months. Founded by mining magnate Stephen Roman in 1963, the company was well-known in the trust industry for its conservative lending practices. But last July, federal and provincial regulators ordered a special audit of Standard's financial statements because of concerns that it was carrying too many bad loans. The audit,

made public in November, revealed that the company was carrying more than \$215 million worth of nonperforming loans, an amount equal to about 12 per cent of its \$1.8 billion in assets. That compares with an industry average for nonperforming loans of two per cent. Since then, Standard's nonperforming loan portfolio has grown by more than \$15 million.

At a time when property values throughout most of North America are weak, those numbers alone are enough to frighten many investors. But Standard appears to have had other

problems, as well. For one thing, many of the company's nonperforming loans were made to a single developer, Edmonton-based Owl Developments Ltd., which used the money to finance condominium projects in Manitoba, Ontario and Nova Scotia. Said Stephen Martin, an analyst with Montreal-based Canadian Bond Rating Service Ltd.: "Clearly, Standard did not pay attention to its portfolio risk, or it encouraged a high-risk portfolio. They did most of their lending at the peak in the real estate market."

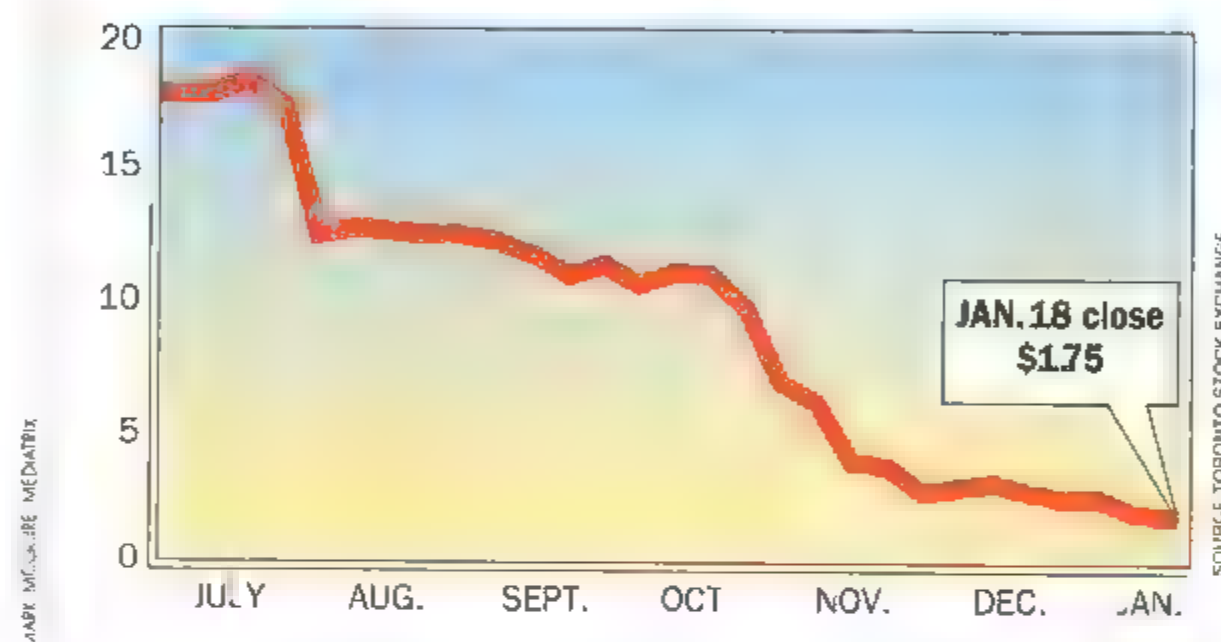
Largely as a result of those revelations,

idiots." Despite those assurances, Koor issued a brief statement late last week announcing the departure of three of Standard's vice-presidents. That brought to six the number of senior officials who have left in the past six months, including the previous president, Brian O'Malley, who resigned last December.

Koor himself says that he is savoring the challenge of trying to restore Standard's battered credibility. He is not the only person brought in recently to help Roman Corp. out of its difficulties. In addition to its 48-per-cent stake in Standard, Roman owns 25 per cent of

STANDARD'S PLUNGE

Prices for preferred shares in Standard Trustco Ltd.



Standard's share price has fallen sharply from its peak a year ago of \$24, closing last Friday at \$1.75. At the same time, the Ontario Securities Commission says that it is investigating possible insider trading at Standard's parent, Standard Trustco, and whether Standard's accounting practices violated the province's Securities Act. For his part, Koor said that he plans to co-operate fully with the current investigation. He added that he sympathizes with the plight of the small investors who have suffered because of Standard's fall from grace. "I have special empathy for the ordinary person in a small town who decided to buy some trust company shares," says Koor. "That person doesn't understand the market and true equity risk."

Still, Koor insists that Standard's lending practices were "not overly aggressive" given the conditions that prevailed in the real estate market in the 1980s. "It's easy for an outsider with hindsight to say, 'How could they be so dumb,'" he adds. "But this business is in good shape, except for the lending area. You don't build the ninth-largest trust company surrounded by

Denison Mines Ltd. and a 26-per-cent equity stake in Lawson Mardon Inc., a Mississauga, Ont.-based packaging company. Last December, Helen Roman-Barber, who took control of Roman Corp. in 1988 after her father's death, recruited William James, former president and



Roman-Barber: trying to pay down debts

chief executive officer of Falconbridge Ltd., to help Denison dispose of assets and improve the prospects of its uranium-mining and coal operations. For the past two years, Denison has been trying to sell its European oil and gas investments.

Meanwhile, Roman is also trying to find a buyer for its share of Lawson Mardon. The company's stated objective is to sell its investment by the middle of this year—a goal that Roman officials say appears within reach. Koor, however, is less specific about the timing of a possible sale of Standard's trust operations. "We're not committed to any schedule," he says. "We are going to do the best thing for depositors, investors and shareholders." Most analysts say that would make a refreshing change

DEIRDRE McMURDY

Business Notes

EASTERN GROUNDED

Eastern Airlines Inc., the eighth-largest in the United States, suspended operations and reports that it would liquidate all its assets. The 62-year-old Miami-based airline, which lost \$690 million in 1990 and \$2.9 million a day this month, has been operating under the protection of a bankruptcy court for nearly two years. Eastern employs 18,000 people worldwide including 104 in Canada, where it serves Montreal, Toronto and Ottawa.

BILLIONS FOR A BOARD

Organized labor and business will co-operate to advise Ottawa on where to spend potentially more than \$2 billion in federal job-training funds over the next two years. The 22-member Canadian Labor Force Development Board is to identify labor market needs and the training requirements of Canadian workers.

GATT GETS HAPPY

For the first time since the four-year-long negotiations aimed at liberalizing world trade broke down on Dec. 7, negotiators were optimistic that talks could be usefully reopened. The talks collapsed after the European Community refused to respond to U.S. pressure, backed by Canada and other agricultural exporting nations, to lower substantially their agricultural subsidies. GATT director general Arthur Dunkel, who has consulted with many of the 101 GATT members, said that he now sees signs that governments' positions have become more flexible on the subsidies issue.

BAD NEWS FOR THE NEWS

Publisher James Hoge warned nine striking unions at New York City's *Daily News*, the third-largest daily newspaper in North America, that the paper will close in 60 days unless a new agreement is reached before that time. The 12-week-old strike costs the paper \$866,000 a day because of dramatically reduced circulation and advertising.

HURTIG HURTING

Edmonton publisher Mel Hurtig laid off six of his 21 full-time staff at Hurtig Publishers Ltd. and closed the division that produced the critically acclaimed *Junior Encyclopedia of Canada*. Hurtig said that the recession reduced the market for big-ticket items such as the \$190 five-volume set, which was first published in 1990. He added that sales fell 30,000 short of the 60,000 sets that he had planned to sell. Hurtig also acknowledged that he should have "paid more attention to retailing."



The proud force of a passive nation

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

It began as a joke. When Ottawa dispatched the Protecteur, Athabaskan and Terra Nova to the Persian Gulf, the ancient ships' sailors claimed that they only had one worry: that Saddam Hussein would bombard them with paint remover. (The oldest of the vessels dates back to 1959, and they have been repainted so often that what seems to be holding them together are all those coats of grey.)

But something important happened on the way to the war, so that instead of laughable rusted hulks, we now have rusted hulks that work, whose crews have been judged among the best trained and most efficient in the Western flotilla. Vice-Admiral C. M. Thomas, Canada's vice-chief of the defence staff, who returned from the Gulf just six days before the war started, is a stern, unemotional disciplinarian. Yet even he was moved by what he saw. "I'm quite shaken at the pride I feel in the job all our people are doing," he reported. "They seem to know that what they do and how they do it is important. They make one very proud."

The senior sailor on the spot, Commodore Ken Summers, conveyed the same pride in a signal he recently sent his crews: "The fleet team in the Gulf is doing a tremendous job, and the credibility of the Canadian navy has never been higher in recent times," he stated, adding, "Events here will dictate a different navy, one more modern in both thought and substance."

The notion that Canada can produce effective fighting men and women has always run counter to the image we prefer of ourselves as citizens of a "peaceable kingdom." We fought no wars of independence, and our homegrown rebellions in Lower and Upper Canada, at Red River and Batoche, hardly ranked as major military actions. "Canada is an unmilitary community," wrote the historian C. P. Stacey. "Warlike her people have often been forced to be, military they have never been."

As a result, Canadian armed forces—except during world wars—have had to operate out-

There are many Saddam Husseins; Canada may have to become more military as the cost of survival in this dangerous age

side the mainstream of Canadian society. This lack of relevance flows from one of our deepest-rooted convictions, that we are a cultural free port, a society so open and so negotiable that our citizens need claim no loyalties—not even a belief in their own country. Writing about the American draft dodgers who came here during the Vietnam War, Robert Fulford astutely observed that their biggest surprise was to discover that "patriotism is not a requisite of Canadian citizenship."

That was true, but it may not be true much longer. War must always be a last resort to be abominated and prevented at all costs. But there are many Saddam Husseins; Canada may have to become more military as the cost of survival in this dangerous age. That was all supposed to have become ancient history with the end of the Cold War, but it turns out that both sides were arming for the wrong battle. It will be the regional warlords in the Middle East, South America and the Far East who will be managing the world's agenda in the 1990s.

The argument has been made that we should stay out of the Gulf war because we are peacekeepers, not fighters. But that's what those 12 UN resolutions were about—an attempt by virtually the entire world community

to halt aggression before it turned into war. "If we want peace, we must defend those principles which are enshrined in the UN Charter," Prime Minister Brian Mulroney declared in his opening speech during the Commons emergency session on the issue. "No moral superiority accrues to those who stand on the sidelines and let others defend their principles. Canada is a peaceful country—but Canada is not a neutral country, nor a country that expects a free ride."

Canada has always been distinct from other major powers (and we are a major power, the world's sixth or seventh) by being a liberal democracy with no imperialistic or territorial ambitions. Our professional military planners suffer from no delusions of grandeur and few mercenary impulses. But as the threat to our way of life grows, national defence may have to become a political priority instead of a bothersome afterthought. (At the moment, national defence ranks somewhere behind hog subsidies in the minds of most of our politicians.)

At some point in the near future, Canadians will have to take stock of themselves and decide whether to assert that we are and want to remain a sovereign state, or to continue being a dependent colony, owing our safety and continued existence to the tender mercies of the Pentagon. Any country that hands over the ability to defend itself to another country automatically becomes that parent nation's colony. Canadian politicians of all parties have perpetrated a massive fraud on the Canadian people by pretending that our sailors, soldiers and flyers are adequately equipped to defend themselves, much less to guard the nation, any province, county or village. As the Gulf experience has shown, the loyalty of our troops is beyond question, but most of their equipment is beyond salvage.

All navies, armies and air forces mirror the characteristics of the societies on whose behalf they are pledged to fight. If the ultimate purpose of our military forces, such as they are, is hard to pin down, it's because we as a people lack a definable creed or even a set of common beliefs. In the final analysis, our survival on this delicate planet will depend on the will we can muster to protect our institutions—and that, in turn, will depend on how much we learn to value them.

To achieve such a transformation will require a new set of attitudes towards the military. My favorite illustration of how Canadians feel about their fighting men is a story told by Hal Lawrence, one of Canada's Second World War heroes who won a Distinguished Service Cross for boarding a Nazi submarine and helping to subdue its crew. "If I'm in the U.K.," he once complained to an admiral, "and someone asks me what I do, and I say, 'I'm a lieutenant in the Royal Canadian Navy,' they say, 'Oh, really? Jolly good. You must come down for a weekend.' When I'm asked the same question in the United States and give the same reply, I'm told, 'Good, you must come out and meet the little woman.' But when the same question and answer are exchanged in Canada, there's an awkward pause while everyone thinks, 'Poor guy. Probably didn't do well in Grade 12.'"

PEOPLE

THE POLITICS OF SINGING

Singer Véronique Béliveau was the only French-Canadian who performed last week in an all-Canadian music video for AIDS research funding and AIDS-related projects. Said Béliveau, 36: "At one point, the organizers said, 'Oh my God, we don't have a line in French.' " But, she added diplomatically, "I don't think it was an intentional omission." The bilingual singer, who has been criticized by some French-speaking Quebecers for singing in English, declared: "I hope these people will understand that you just want people to hear your music."

Béliveau: criticized by fellow Quebecers



Good karma

Richard Gere, the star of *Pretty Woman*, has melted the hearts of a generation of women. But there is more to the 41-year-old actor than meets the eye. Gere visited Toronto recently to attend a photography exhibit that he organized to raise money for the Dalai Lama and Tibet. The exhibition, which will also visit New York City, Tokyo and Paris, features works by Annie Leibovitz and Helmut Newton. A Buddhist, Gere said that he tries to balance acting with philanthropic work. "As soon as you can concentrate on other people's problems," he said, "yours don't seem so bad."



Gere: a working balance

FAIR-WEATHER STORYTELLER

Author Rick Hillis, a native of Saskatchewan, whose spare style critics have compared favorably to the working-man prose of Richard Ford and Raymond Carver, will publish his first story collection, *Limbo River*, next month. He supports himself by teaching creative writing at Stanford University in California—an occupation that he says "makes you lose your heroic ideas about what a writer should be." Still, Hillis, 34, is working on his first novel there. "I enjoy teaching, I get time to write," he said, "and it's 80° here."

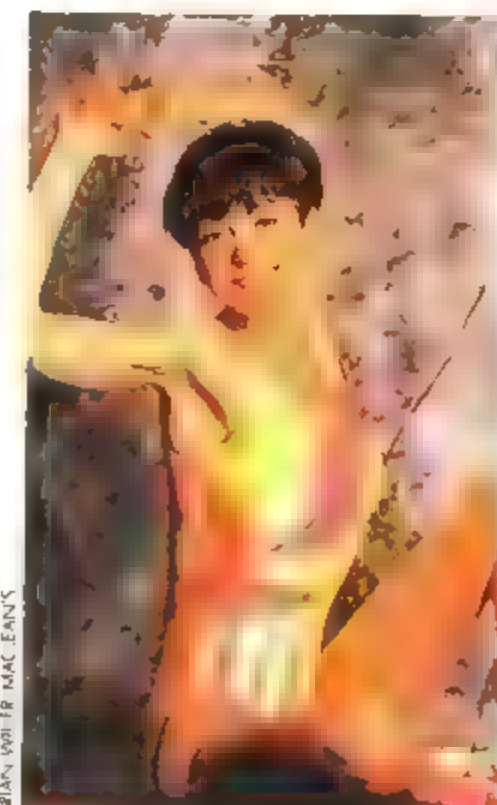
Eating the words

Canadian fitness queen Charlene Prickett of Calgary, whose fitness tapes outsell Jane Fonda's in Western Canada, is the host of the syndicated TV aerobics show *It Figures*. And she has just released her eighth fitness video, *Step Right Up*. Said Prickett, 44: "I have a reputation as a legitimate, intelligent person. I recommend nutritious food—no radical diets." Still, she says that she may have lost one fan after one of her most embarrassing moments, when a viewer caught her in the act. Said Prickett: "In New York City, I stopped at a deli. I hadn't had anything to eat and it was my birthday. So I saw these chocolate brownies and told the guy I wanted the nicest, prettiest brownie. I bought some skim milk to go with it. A man came over and said, 'Well, you certainly don't practise what you preach.' Now, I'm not often undone, but I was speechless. I went back to my hotel and cried and cried." But, added Prickett: "My husband reminded me: 'You've never said not to eat brownies.'"

Prickett: 'the nicest, prettiest brownie'

CHOPPING TO THE TOP

Karate champion Jean-Claude Van Damme is a hot new sensation with martial-arts movie fans. Indeed, they say that he may be the next Arnold Schwarzenegger. Van Damme, 30, who karate-chopped his way through such hits as *Kickboxer* (1989) and *Bloodsport* (1988), is now starring in *Lionheart*. Like Schwarzenegger, Van Damme is a poor-boy-makes-good story. When he arrived in Hollywood from his native Belgium in 1984, he slept in his car until he could afford an apartment. Said Van Damme: "I came with my karate like Arnold came with his muscles." But New York Post critic Jamil Bernard is reserving judgment. Said Bernard: "If he works less on his pecs, and more on his personality, I can see him doing fewer action-oriented roles."





Jackson during regular-season play: a hip injury may prevent his appearance

SPORTS

The big countdown

Fans gear up for football's Super Bowl

From their seats at the 30-yard line, 50 rows above the field at Buffalo's Rich Stadium, retired engineer Pete Knaus and his wife, Kathy, have watched their Buffalo Bills lose many games. In the past 20 years, the Bills have had only eight winning seasons and have never appeared in the premier event of the National Football League, the Super Bowl. But on Sunday, Buffalo hosted the Los Angeles Raiders in one NFL semifinal game, while the defending champion San Francisco 49ers met the New York Giants in the other semifinal matchup. The winners will meet on Jan. 27 at Tampa, Fla., in the 25th annual Super Bowl. But die-hard fan Knaus said that this year the war in the Persian Gulf had dampened his excitement over the Bills. He added: "I have a grandson over there on a ship. War is not fun, but it's something that had to be done."

Although some commentators speculated that the NFL might postpone or cancel the Super Bowl because of the war, league officials denied the reports. And by the end of last week, 22 companies had acquired 55 of the 56 available 30-second advertising spots, which sold for a record \$920,000 each. The biggest unresolved issue in the week leading up to the semifinal games was whether the Raiders'

superstar running back Bo Jackson would play. Jackson suffered a slight injury to his left hip in Los Angeles's 20-10 win over the Cincinnati Bengals on Jan. 13. Last week, Jackson, also a star outfielder with baseball's Kansas City Royals, responded to all inquiries about his injury with a terse "No comment."

In the eyes of many North American football fans, the 49ers and their outstanding 34-year-old quarterback, Joe Montana, remained the best team in football. San Francisco won the Super Bowl in each of the past two years and it was fighting to become the first NFL team to win three in a row. The 49ers reached the semifinal by defeating the Washington Redskins and their star Calgary-born quarterback, Mark Rypien, by a score of 28-10. During the season, the powerful 49ers posted a 14-win, two-loss record, the best in the 28-team NFL. The Montana-led offence ranked first in the 14-team National Football Conference, while the defence stood second. The best defence in the conference belonged to the New York Giants, led by six-foot, three-inch, 243-lb. linebacker Lawrence Taylor, who sports analysts generally agree is one of the most fearsome tacklers in football.

As the 49ers approached the opening kickoff at San Francisco's Candlestick Park on Sunday,

Montana and his fleet of talented receivers, Jerry Rice, John Taylor, Brent Jones and Mike Sherrard, were all healthy. For their part, the Giants were relying on backup quarterback Jeff Hostetler to guide their offence instead of regular starter Phil Simms, who injured his right foot in December. The 29-year-old Hostetler, a seven-year veteran, had started only five games before Sunday's encounter with the 49ers and won them all. He led the Giants into the semifinal by throwing two touchdown passes and running for one himself in a 31-3 rout of the Chicago Bears.

The Bills had a 13-3 seasonal record, which was slightly better than the Raiders' 12-4 record. The Bills' offence, led by quarterback Jim Kelly, ranked second in total yards gained among the 14 teams in the American Football Conference. The Raiders offence was ranked only ninth, but its defence was second best in the AFC. By comparison, Buffalo's defence was fifth in the AFC in terms of total yardage allowed. In Buffalo, the vociferous fans are often a factor in the team's success. Said Knaus, a Bills season-ticket holder since the early 1960s: "Our fans are very, very vocal. If we had a domed stadium, you wouldn't be able to hear yourself think at Bills games."

The Bills quarterback Kelly injured his left knee in December and spent four weeks on the sidelines. He returned to action on Jan. 12 and threw for 339 yards and three touchdowns in the team's 44-34 playoff victory over the Miami Dolphins. Afterward, an exasperated Don Shula, head coach of the Dolphins, said, "It was a remarkable performance for not having played in four weeks."

Meanwhile, the Raiders had a capable replacement ready for Jackson in nine-year veteran Marcus Allen, who led the Raider attack during the season with 13 touchdowns and almost 700 yards rushing. Another key member of the Los Angeles offence was wide receiver Mervyn Fernandez, a Los Angeles native who starred with the British Columbia Lions of the Canadian Football League from 1982 to 1986. Fernandez, nicknamed Swervin' Mervyn, was the CFL's most valuable player in 1985 and led the Raiders with 52 catches for 839 yards this year.

Although the outbreak of war initially cast a pall over the Super Bowl race, some fans contended that the playoff games would be a welcome diversion. Christopher Swenson, marketing director of the American Bar and Grill Sports Cafe in Buffalo, said that all 200 seats in the bar were reserved a week before last Sunday's showdown. Swenson added that patrons had to pay a \$115 deposit to reserve a seat. At Pat O'Shea's Mad Hatter, an Irish bar in San Francisco, co-owner James Kelly said that with the exception of St. Patrick's Day, 49ers' playoff games are the best days of the year at his 350-seat establishment. He added, "With a war on, people are looking for some balance, and football's a good release." And that is enhanced when Joe Montana is dismantling a defence, or a perennially weak team like the Bills finally makes a run for glory.

D'ARCY JENISH

FILMS

Woody in Wonderland

Manhattan's director-in-residence lightens up

ALICE

Directed by Woody Allen

Vintage Woody Allen movies play well on television. With repeated viewing, their physical comedy seems funnier than ever, inducing nostalgia for the Allen of old. Over the years, Allen's movies have become more dignified. His appearances in them have become rarer. And he has tried, awkwardly at first, to reconcile his talent for comedy with his compulsion to create serious drama. He succeeded brilliantly in his most recent movie, *Crimes and Misdemeanors*, which was really two films woven into one: a drama about an ophthalmologist who has his mistress murdered, and a comedy about a filmmaker trying to make a friendship less platonic. With his new movie, *Alice*, Manhattan's director-in-residence lightens up again. It is not as good as *Crimes and Misdemeanors*. But it explores similar themes of adultery and guilt with a



Farrow: facing the risks of romance

buoyant sense of whimsy. *Alice* is a witty confection leavened with a dash of dime-store magic, an adventure in Woody Allen Wonderland.

As usual, it is a world of neurotic, agnostic Manhattan professionals playing truth or consequences with sexual infidelity. *Alice* is the 20th movie that Allen has written and directed. And although it reflects a grown-up interest in moral responsibility, it has a wacky side reminiscent of Allen's vintage comedy. He himself does not appear on-screen, but his real-life companion, actress Mia Farrow, serves as his surrogate. In her 11th movie with Allen, she seems to have taken on his comic persona—a stammering, insecure worrier contemplating the risks of romance.

Alice (Farrow) is a bored housewife who has become restless in her 16-year marriage to a wealthy Wall Street stockbroker named Doug (William Hurt). "I've become one of those women who shops all day and has pedicures," she complains. Alice also suffers from chronic back pain. She has tried everything, from Oriental massage to a chiropractor—"I wonder if I should have a Swede walk on it?" she asks. Finally, on the advice of several friends, she visits Dr. Yang (Keye Luke), a Chinese specialist in herbal medicine and acupuncture. Dr. Yang instantly diagnoses her problem as an emotional one, but he turns out to be more of a sorcerer than a therapist; he gives his patient a love potion.

At her son's nursery school, Alice has struck up a timid acquaintance with another parent, a divorced jazz musician named Joe (Joe Mantegna).



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FILMS

gna). Under the spell of Dr. Yang's potion, she experiences a radical personality change. And the next time she meets Joe at the school, she confesses her attraction to him with uninhibited candor. It is a hilarious scene. Stunned by Alice's bold advances, Joe cannot believe his luck. They plan a lovers' tryst. But after the potion wears off, Alice's commitment to having an extramarital affair begins to waver. And Joe is still carrying a flame for his ex-wife, Vicki (Judy Davis), a business executive. With each complication, Alice goes back to Dr. Yang, who gives her more magic potions to work miracles in her life—and in the plot.

Meanwhile, Alice also decides that she needs a career. A friend from her student days, Nancy (Cybill Shepherd), has had overnight success as a television screenwriter and is now a powerful producer. Alice used to write—before she was married. She wonders if she, too, could write screenplays. But when Alice tries to sell a script to Nancy, she gets a frosty reception. "We want blood and guts, nothing subtle," says Nancy. "What makes it interesting? Is it lurid, sexual, perverse?" A brittle executive with a Teflon smile, Nancy is a small-scale version of Alan Alda's character in *Crimes and Misdemeanors*, the fatuous television sitcom director whose personal motto is "If it bends, it's comedy; if it breaks, it's tragedy." No Woody Allen movie is complete, it seems, without a satirical slap at Hollywood.

Allen enjoys an arm's-length relationship with Hollywood that is unique among American directors. His contract with Orion Pictures allows him to make personal films without a whisper of creative interference. And he subverts Hollywood style by putting a character actor like Mantegna in a lead part, while casting bigger names, such as Shepherd and Hurt, in smaller and less sympathetic roles.

The advantages are clear. Like Martin Landau, the ophthalmologist in *Crimes and Misdemeanors*, Mantegna creates an exceptionally credible leading man simply because he is so ordinary. Meanwhile, the Hollywood glamor of Shepherd and Hurt merely enhances their roles as caricatures in Alice's social satire. Hurt, however, is too uniformly villainous as Alice's hard-boiled husband. By making him wealthy, snakelike and stupidly insensitive, Allen has created an easy target.

But amid the movie's cavalier strokes of satire and magic, Farrow delivers a fine-tuned performance. And for once, her character is more than a victim. In fact, Alice, who seems to be one of the last women in the Western world to wake up to feminism, becomes a true heroine. The movie's pat ending, a righteous rejection of Western materialism, seems strangely out of character for Allen. But it serves as an antidote to the starkly unredemptive *Crimes and Misdemeanors*, in which a near-blind rabbi symbolizes an off-duty God. In Allen's latest fable, God is an Oriental dispenser of fairy-tale magic. And Alice offers a weightless tumble through Woody Allen's looking glass—with a soft landing on his lighter side.

BRIAN D. JOHNSON

BOOKS

Inside Afghanistan

A Moscow author recalls a painful Soviet war

By early 1989, as Soviet troops prepared to end their 9 1/2-year presence in Afghanistan, they had acquired several habits familiar to their American counterparts of another time and place. Using Japanese-made portable stereo systems purchased from Kabul's notorious Chicken Street black market, they would listen to tapes by such Western rock stars as Rod Stewart and The Doors. And says Moscow-based journalist Artyom Borovik in his remarkable new book, *The Hidden War* (McClelland & Stewart, \$26.95), like U.S. soldiers in Vietnam, many of them also sought solace in alcohol, hashish and other illicitly obtained drugs. At night, in the privacy of the Kabul homes where they were billeted, some high-ranking officers watched videotapes of *Apocalypse Now* and *Platoon*—two U.S. movies that graphically portray the horrors of the Vietnam War. By that time, declared Borovik in an interview, "The Vietnamization of Afghanistan was complete."

That comparison between the Soviet role in Afghanistan and the American presence in Vietnam is a theme that runs throughout *The Hidden War*. As deputy editor of the Soviet weekly newsmagazine *Ogonyok* (Beacon), Borovik made three lengthy visits to Afghanistan during the 1980s. He spent several weeks in combat situations while travelling with the *spetsnaz*—the elite Soviet Special Forces troops who spearheaded operations against the Afghan rebels, the Mujahedeen. Those experiences form the basis for *The Hidden War*, a detailed and frequently moving account of everyday life with Soviet combat troops. It also reflects the author's disillusionment with the policies that put them there. Writes Borovik: "In Afghanistan, we bombed not only the detachments of rebels and their caravans, but our own ideals as well."

That weary tone is coupled with intimate, anecdotal portraits of young men—including Borovik himself, now 30—learning the ways of life and death under fire. The author, who is the son of prominent Soviet journalist Genrikh Borovik, said that he was exempted from the military draft in the early 1980s because of his family connections. But as the undeclared war in Afghanistan dragged on, Borovik's guilt over his privileged position led him to decide to see conditions there first-hand.

His discoveries, both professional and personal, resound with a sometimes painful honesty, as when he recalls his first visit to a Soviet military hospital. Said Borovik, who spoke to *Maclean's* in Boston, where he had travelled to promote the English-language version of his book: "You look at a mortally wounded man, a vile and happy thought stirs at the very bottom of your subconscious. 'Thank God I wasn't the one,' you say to yourself."

Borovik's ability to study situations from different perspectives is shaped by his unique background. He spent several childhood years in New York City, where his father was a correspondent for the news service *Novosti*. And in an early test of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's policy of *glasnost*, the author—who speaks fluent, American-accented English—spent a month in 1988 training with American

infantry troops at a base in Fort Benning, Ga. He mixed in so well that some soldiers refused to believe that he was from the home of their long-standing Cold War foe. In the United States, Borovik met several American veterans of Vietnam.

The following year, he helped organize a meeting in Moscow between some of those veterans and their Soviet counterparts from Afghanistan. With the help of translators, the two groups spent hours discussing their memo-

ries and emotions. Said Borovik: "They came to realize that much of what they felt was the same."

Borovik's work has aroused both controversy and antipathy in his own country. Publication of *The Hidden War* in the Soviet Union was delayed for more than six months last year because of allegations from the Soviet defence ministry that parts of the book were inaccurate. After the book appeared, unchanged, *Krasnaya Zvezda* (Red Star), the official Soviet army newspaper, said that the book was "filled with half-truths and lies." But Soviet veterans have praised *The Hidden War* as the most accurate portrayal yet written of their experiences. Borovik has tried several times in the past year to return to Afghanistan, but that country's government has refused him a visa.

Despite those problems, Borovik hopes to write another book dealing with Soviet involvement in Afghanistan and focusing on the problems of returning veterans. But, he said, he worries that growing conservatism in the Soviet Union will make such an undertaking increasingly difficult. Indeed, last week, a Soviet government official announced that *Vzglyad* (Glance), the popular current-affairs television show that Borovik now hosts, had been suspended indefinitely for unspecified reasons. But, declared Borovik: "If they want to take back the freedom of the press, it is something that every real journalist must fight to the last breath." Long after the end of the Soviets' hidden war, Borovik's battles are clearly far from over.

ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH in Boston

Maclean's

BEST-SELLER LIST

FICTION

- 1 *The Secret Pilgrim, le Carré* (1)
- 2 *Maroon and the Sea of Stories, Rushdie* (2)
- 3 *The Plains of Passage, Auel* (3)
- 4 *The Witching Hour, Rice* (5)
- 5 *Rumpole à la Carte, Mortimer* (4)
- 6 *Longshot, Francis* (7)
- 7 *Cold Fire, Koontz*
- 8 *From Ink Lake, ed. Ondaatje*
- 9 *The Fourth K, Puzo* (9)
- 10 *The Stories of Eva Luna, Allende* (8)

NONFICTION

- 1 *The Great Depression, Berton* (4)
- 2 *Iron John, Bly*
- 3 *Trudeau and Our Times, Clarkson and McCall* (1)
- 4 *Words with Power, Frye* (2)
- 5 *A Life on the Fringe, Forsey* (7)
- 6 *Powershift, Toffler*
- 7 *Gretzky: An Autobiography, Gretzky* (6)
- 8 *Inside Memory, Findley* (8)
- 9 *Dickens, Ackroyd* (5)
- 10 *Overtime, Germain* (9)

() Position last week

Compiled by Brian Bethune



The bottom-liners' jealous revenge

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

Several elections back, one or two employers back, fellow employee Charles Lynch and mineownself found ourselves struggling with progress in some forgotten telephone oasis. The campaign bus, containing some forgotten future prime minister, had paused briefly so the scribes could ship their peerless prose back to the Mothership in Ottawa on deadline. Lynch and I, both risking hernias, had to heft along portable computers, the early variety, that were roughly the size of a dog kennel and weighed more than Conrad Black's wallet.

Cursing the cold fish in the countinghouse who signed my paycheck, I complained loudly about the injustice of converting a sensitive poet into a piano mover. Now, Charlie Lynch has been everywhere, done everything. He goes back to the Ark. He has been a bureau chief in South America and New York, played the piano on the troopship that carried him across the English Channel on D-Day, once ran the cash register in a French whorehouse and drank with Hemingway.

He looked at me with pity, as one would at a puppy that had just wet the rug, and explained something. He had filed copy back to the office from everywhere in the world, over too many decades, and had found early on that every "advance" in the system—from the telegraph key onwards—always was for the benefit of the head office, never for the chap in the field.

The scales fell from my youthful eyes. Lynch of course was right. I once had a goddess at *The Vancouver Sun* newsdesk—"Magic Fingers" was her name—who could take my column over the phone as fast as I could dictate it. She even knew, from the pauses in the voice, where a comma was required, where a semicolon, where a quote, where a full stop.

Magic Fingers naturally has been phased out of employment opportunities—replaced by computers which "go down" or don't work from cheap B.C. Tel lines from the top of high mountains. Nothing surprised Charlie Lynch and nothing surprises me anymore, as progress marches on.

Several employers later (they do seem to



change more rapidly these days), we have just moved into a fancy new office that is so advanced that the inmates can't even operate the telephones. The basis of the newspaper business, we must understand, is the telephone—once a remarkably uncomplicated device. But the thesis of modern technology is that if it ain't broke, we'll fix it.

Such is the genius of this new phone system that reporters, who have somehow survived for 20, 30 years in their trade, must go to classes to learn how to use their telephones. Brilliant! Fantastic! The No. 1 tool of their trade is now rendered inoperable, to such an extent that they have to retreat to kindergarten to be taught how it works.

This fits in with the idiocy of rampant technology. As the pollsters tell us, nearly 70 per cent of Canadian homes are now equipped with a VCR. As *Newsweek* points out, the common feature of practically every home in North

America is the blinking "12:00" signal on the VCR—meaning it has never been programmed.

There is not a single adult I know who understands how to fix a VCR so it can record a TV show when you are out that evening—the main reason why it is supposed to be so valuable. It fits in with the figures on the fading use of the microwave oven, once hailed as the finest adornment of modern civilization.

Some sensible chap has pointed out that the last two inventions the ordinary human has mastered are the automobile and the telephone. That's about right. And now they've taken the office phone away from us. I go to a phone booth on the corner to call a chap who has an office just down the hall.

The mad scientists have taken over. Dr. Strangelove designed our new phone system. There is something called "Voice Mail," which is an oxymoron in itself. Something like "military intelligence." Or "giant shrimp."

The essence of newspapering is that you have to talk to someone, or that someone has to talk to a receptionist or some live human being who can tell you that the chap has the new hot line on Murray Pezim's ethics or Joe Clark's witticisms. Voice Mail would fit well with an insurance office, or an undertaker's parlor. It is the very antithesis of what a newspaper office is about. But it must save head office money. The instruction booklet as to how to retrieve a message from your "mailbox" details 19 separate instructions. We once used to just pick up the phone.

Alexander Graham Bell knoweth not what he wrought. He wasn't a bad guy, but his successors have gone nuts. So obsessed are they with the technological breakthroughs they are capable of, that they are programming for themselves—and their competitors—not the consumer, commonly known as the customer.

Saddam Hussein, in his smugness, could not comprehend that the Americans—lusting for a market research field for their weapons ever since Vietnam—could be so advanced in Star Wars techniques since then. The simple householder who can't figure out the VCR, the simple office worker who is defeated by his best friend the telephone, is equally bewildered.

Cars that talk back to you and instruct you sternly to do up your seat belt are one thing. Elevators in hotels that talk back to you are one thing. But when you regard the colored beast on the desk in front of you, bristling with incomprehensible buttons, as a true enemy—you know that the brutes in head office have had their ultimate revenge on the sensitive poets. They're jealous.

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